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Bibliographical Notes on
Certain Eastern Mining Companies
of the California Gold Rush,
1849-1850*

By R. W. G. VAIL

LET us assume, for the sake of argument, that your great-grandfather was a prosperous New York merchant and that, on August 19, 1848, one of his ships sailed into the harbor with a cargo of hides from California. The voyage around the Horn had been made in the remarkably quick time of five months, and the captain brought to his owner, as a souvenir of that faraway land, a copy of its pioneer newspaper, *The Californian*, for March 15 of that year. The merchant had, of course, been greatly interested in the progress of the war with Mexico, and had read with satisfaction President Polk's proclamation of July 4 announcing the treaty of peace by which the United States added New Mexico and California to its territories. He had attended the reception held on July 27 when the First New York Volunteers returned from the campaign, and the following day

* Read at the meeting of the Society at Princeton, N. J., June 4, 1949.

helped entertain Commodore Perry and his officers, who had just sailed home from the war.

So it was with no little curiosity that he opened the pages of *The Californian* to see what he could learn of the new territory which had so recently become a part of his country. He was not much impressed with the little paper, but he did notice an obscure item at the bottom of the second page which mildly aroused his interest. It read as follows:

Gold mine found. In the newly made raceway of the Saw Mill recently erected by Captain Sutter, on the American Fork, gold has been found in considerable quantities. One person brought thirty dollars worth to New Helvetia, gathered there in a short time. California, no doubt, is rich in mineral wealth, great chances here for scientific capitalists. Gold has been found in almost every part of the country.

Of course, our merchant discounted the over-optimistic statement of the California editor who seemed to have more enthusiasm than facts, but when he went home to dinner that noon and had time to read his morning *New York Herald* he ran across a second article on our far western lands. Half way through it, he found another mention of California gold which said:

The gold mine discovered in December last, on the south branch of the American Fork, in a range of low hills forming the base of the Sierra Nevada, distant thirty miles from New Helvetia, is only three feet below the surface, in a strata of soft sand rock. From explorations south twelve miles, and north five miles, the continuance of this strata is reported, and the mineral said to be equally abundant, and from twelve to eighteen feet in thickness; so that, without allowing any golden hopes to puzzle my prophetic vision of the future, I would predict for California, a Peruvian harvest of the precious metals, as soon as a sufficiency of miners, &c., can be obtained.

Perhaps there was something to this story of a gold mine after all!

It is hard for us to understand how it took so long for the discovery of California gold to become known. James W. Marshall, the millwright, had accidentally found gold in the raceway of John A. Sutter's mill at Coloma on January 24, 1848, but it was

not until March 15 that the first newspaper notice, as quoted above, appeared in *The Californian*, and the *New York Herald*, as we have seen, did not record the event until almost seven months later. But in those days there were no transcontinental railroads, telegraph lines or even pony express riders, and no steamship routes by way of the Isthmus of Panama to shorten the journey. So all news from the Pacific coast had to come across the Plains, through the Straits of Magellan or around Cape Horn, and that was a matter of at least four or five months. The first rumors of the new discovery made little impression, partly because of the distance and partly because the news came, as some said, from the Mormons and, at that time, they were looked on with suspicion and distrust. But when the President, in his message to Congress on December 5, 1848, made the announcement official, the East began to take a real interest, and so the first contingent of gold seekers reached San Francisco two months later by way of Panama. But it was midsummer before the tide of immigration to California really set in with the arrival of the first ships from around the Horn.

Up to 1848 there probably were not more than a thousand non-Spanish white men in all of California out of a total population of 14,000, but by the end of 1849 there were 100,000 whites in the territory, and by 1852 that figure had jumped to 223,000, an amazing increase in view of the distance and the difficulty of transportation. When the gold fever really seized the imagination of the adventurous, it became a great epidemic which swept the country like the bubonic plague.

Because of the long and hazardous journey to the mines, it was natural that the young men of the East should organize themselves into companies for mutual assistance and protection while *en route*, and for the exploitation of the mines they hoped to operate. Of course none of them knew anything about the mining of gold or even the location of the mines, and so all of the hundreds of joint stock companies so carefully organized

back home with formally adopted constitutions, by-laws and rules of conduct were thrown overboard on reaching California. A very short practical experience soon taught them that these large companies, sometimes numbering 100 men or more, were too unwieldy and totally unsuited to the primitive methods of the original California mines. And besides, the impatience and greed of the individual members caused them to abandon their company organizations, their ships and their cumbersome equipment in order to strike out for themselves, either singly or in small groups.

There were nearly 150 of these companies organized in Massachusetts alone during 1849, and hundreds more from the other Eastern states. The first to get underweigh early in the year bought or chartered ships of all sizes for the long and hazardous voyage around Cape Horn, but a few months later, the toilsome, steamy, hot and unhealthful route across the Isthmus of Panama or through Mexico attracted thousands, and other tens of thousands braved the dangers of hunger, thirst and Indian attack on the land route across the Great Plains.

Though these joint stock companies advertised in the newspapers and many of them used posters and handbills to attract members, comparatively few bothered to have their constitutions and by-laws printed, and it was inevitable that most of this ephemeral literature should have disappeared long before our day. It is so rare, in fact, that less than half a dozen examples have been mentioned previously in any of the bibliographies of California and the Gold Rush. However, some of them have survived in our historical libraries and private collections, and a hasty examination of a few of these sources has brought to light thirty-three of the handbills, constitutions and other records of the Eastern companies of 1849-1850, most of them in the private library of our former President, Mr. Thomas W. Streeter.

A study of the literature of the various companies shows that they were much alike. A group of neighbors or enterprising mer-

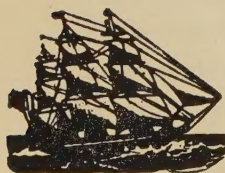
chants and shipowners would organize, elect officers and directors, and advertise for additional members of good character. Each member bought one or more shares at from fifty to a thousand dollars, and each shared equally in the duties and profits of the association. The size of the companies varied from half a dozen to 200 men, and a high moral tone was emphasized in their by-laws, which generally stipulated that there should be only the most necessary work on the Sabbath and no drinking, gambling or use of profanity. These men were God-fearing Yankees, Yorkers, and Dutchmen from Pennsylvania, and not riff-raff from city slums. If a member proved to be undesirable, he could be expelled by a two-thirds vote and his shares forfeited. On the other hand, anyone deserting the company lost all and sometimes had to pay a heavy fine to boot, but the interests of anyone taken sick or dying during the term of the contract were to be protected and, in the latter case, his personal effects and company profits were to go to his heirs.

The larger associations had doctors to relieve their fevers and heal their wounds, and there were occasional clergymen, geologists and experts in the precious metals among them, as they proudly advertised in their handbills. One or two of the large companies even had ship's libraries and bands of music to mitigate their boredom, and at least one had its own printing press and published on shipboard a journal of the voyage. The ships carried all manner of practical and also useless equipment which the ill-advised promoters fancied would be necessary in the land of gold, from shovels and Colt's revolvers to knock-down houses and even a dismantled hotel, a dredge and a river steamer. The farsighted companies planned to carry on trade as well as mining, and so their ships were well stocked with food, clothing and equipment of all sorts. In many cases they made far more from the sale of consumer goods than from the mining of gold. In fact, comparatively few of the Easterners grew rich from their mining operations, but many of them did very well indeed by con-

BY-LAWS OF THE
MONTAGUE MINING AND TRADING ASSOC'N,
OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.

PREAMBLE AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
Sacramento Navigation and Mining Company.

B Y - L A W S
OF THE
MANHATTAN CALIFORNIA OVER-LAND ASSOCIATION.



"UNITED WE'LL STAND."

CALIFORNIA!!



CAPTAIN B. RICHARDSON'S OVERLAND ROUTE,
VIA VERA CRUZ, CITY OF MEXICO, AND MAZA'TLAN.

ducting stores, blacksmith shops, ferries, newspapers, express companies, hotels and saloons. One of my predecessors in the New-York Historical Society became a postmaster of San Francisco, and it is to him that we owe many of the forty-niner treasures in our library.

Twenty-four of the companies of which we have printed records reached California by the long voyage around South America, two took the short cut across Central America, and four went by covered wagon across the Plains. Since the deep-water sailors who braved the terrific storms of Cape Horn or the Straits of Magellan were the first to get underweigh, we shall begin with them, noting only a few of their interesting characteristics, since a more detailed account of each company and its publications will be found in the bibliographical notes at the end.

The first of these companies to organize in New England was the Boston and California Mining and Trading Joint Stock Company, which began its plans late in 1848, issued a prospectus (no copy of which is now known), and sailed for San Francisco on January 11, 1849, as we learn from a most interesting article by its secretary which appeared in *The Century Magazine* in 1891. The voyage took 174 days, the company was disbanded soon after reaching the mines, and thirty of the members became permanent citizens of California. The day before this company sailed from Boston, the Mechanics' Mining Company was incorporated in New York "for mining purposes in California," and the by-laws stipulated that the trustees were authorized to purchase "such articles of food, merchandise and implements for mining and washing gold dust and smelting the same" as seemed desirable for the success of the company.

Before the Naumkeag Mutual Trading and Mining Company of Salem set out for the west, its members listened to a sermon by Reverend Samuel M. Worcester which was duly published for the inspiration of the miners and the consolation of their families. This company of twenty men sailed from Boston on Jan-

BY-LAWS
OF THE
FREMONT
MINING AND TRADING
COMPANY.



HARTFORD,
J. GAYLORD WELLS, PRINTER.
1849.

uary 23. About this time a poster was displayed in Philadelphia advertising that Gordon's California Association would sail on January 15 at the modest cost of \$160 per man for passage and outfit. This company of 100 members had one of the most elaborate collections of tools and equipment of any on record, including complete machinery for washing gold by horsepower, tools for carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, saddlers, sailmakers and tinsmiths, as well as weapons of all kinds, farm implements and even fishing tackle. Their camping equipment would rival that of a modern dude ranch. Though the main body was to go by sea around the Horn, an advance party pushed on across Mexico to prepare the way.

The California Mutual Gold Mining Company of New York, which sailed on January 22, had a very different organization. By the terms of their contract, two wealthy New Yorkers furnished \$2,500 for the expenses of five men to do the actual mining, the backers to have one-fourth of the profits and the miners the balance. The Bunker Hill Trading and Mining Association, organized at Boston on January 13, followed the usual stock company pattern, except that each member was allowed 1,000 pounds of baggage in addition to personal equipment, so that he could do a little trading on his own. The Newport and California Expedition was organized in January for the purpose of carrying on mining and other business for the period of three years, but its seventy members doubtless abandoned their long-term contract soon after their arrival.

The South Shore and California Joint Stock Company met at Cohasset on January 27 to organize a company of thirty members at \$300 each, as we know from a poster which they issued with the heading: "The best chance yet, for California!" Another poster gives the by-laws of the Montague Mining and Trading Association, of New Haven, a company named for its schooner, the *G. H. Montague*, which sailed on January 27 with fifty-four miners on board.

FORM OF
CO-PARTNERSHIP
AND
BY - LAWS
OF THE
TALLMAN
MINING AND TRADING
ASSOCIATION,
OF
PROVIDENCE.

—000—

PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY M. B. YOUNG.
1849.

One of the most pretentious of these companies was the New-England and California Trading and Mining Association which was organized as early as December 28, 1848, but its 100 members did not sail in their own ship, the *Leonore*, until February 1, 1849. Before they set out, they published in a thirty-four-page pamphlet their constitution, by-laws, names and addresses of the officers and members, and Reverend Edward Beecher's sermon preached before them on the eve of their departure. Mr. Street-er's copy of this interesting pamphlet contains pencilled annotations giving the occupations of most of the members.

The most important of these company publications is the journal of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company which was written by George G. Webster and printed on board the *Henry Lee* by John Linville Hall during the voyage around the Horn. This company of 122 members had supplies enough to last for two years as well as a large amount of merchandise for sale in California, and the little volume of eighty-eight pages gives a day-by-day account of the voyage—the most complete record of any of the sea voyages to California during this period. I was interested to note that their Captain was David P. Vail of Sag Harbor, New York.

The Knickerbocker Exploring Company was organized in New York late in 1848 and left that city by the southern overland route on February 18, 1849. The manuscript overland journal of this company, kept by Dr. William R. Goulding and one of the finest overland narratives of the southern route, now in the Coe Collection at Yale, is accompanied by the broadside *Constitution* of the company, printed at Fort Smith, Arkansas, by the *Herald Press* in March, 1849. It has a preamble which is followed by a roster of the members' names, giving their marital status, age, residence and occupation, and ends with a merry little jingle called "Hy Ho, Away We Go O'er the Rocky Mountains, O!" (Information from Mr. Charles Eberstadt.)

The Pacific Pioneers, of Meriden, Connecticut, were twenty

JOURNAL
OF THE
HARTFORD UNION MINING AND
TRADING COMPANY.

*Containing the Name, Residence and Occupation of each
Member, with Incidents of the Voyage, &c. &c.*



PRINTED BY J. L. HALL,

On board the

Henry Lee,

1849.

in number, and were organized on the first of March with an elaborate program which included mining, trading, building, buying and selling real estate, manufacturing, transporting, etc. in California for a period of eighteen months, the company to be governed by the laws of Connecticut "so long as no other laws exist." The day following their organization, the New Bedford and California Joint Stock Mining and Trading Company, having published their articles of association, sailed out of the harbor of New Bedford on the schooner *Emmaline* to seek their fortunes in the new El Dorado. A little later in the month the Fremont Mining and Trading Company, of Hartford, got underweigh with a capital of \$40,000 divided into \$25 shares, any man with twelve shares to be allowed to join the expedition. At least one member stayed at home and sent another in his place with his expenses of \$387 paid and all profits to be divided equally, as we know from the original contract and stock certificate which accompany Mr. Streeter's copy of the printed by-laws.

The Boston and Wachusett Hotel and Mining Company, inaugurated in June, was decidedly different from the other associations for, as its title indicates, it planned to go into the hotel business as well as to engage in mining. For this purpose the company took along the materials for the frame of a hotel as well as for the homes of the members. Apparently they were going as permanent settlers as well as miners, since the company of twenty-five included five women and some of them were headed for Oregon rather than California.

A group of forty-eight Argonauts from Cherryfield, Maine, published their preamble and by-laws of the Sacramento Navigation and Mining Company as a broadside in July. Though most of them planned to sail around the Horn, anyone who preferred to take the short cut across the Isthmus might do so and join the company in California. The Tallman Mining and Trading Association, of Providence, named for its president, Esek Tallman, owned its own ship which was well laden with mer-

BELOIT COMPANY.

At a meeting of a Company of Californians on the Banks of the Missouri, May 6th, 1850, the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted and names entered.

Whereas we are about to leave the frontier, and travel over Indian Territory, exposed to their treachery, and knowing their long and abiding hatred to the Whites; also many other privations to meet with. We consider it necessary to form ourselves into a company for the purpose of protecting each other and our property, during our journey to California.

Therefore Resolved, That this Company shall be known as the "BELOIT COMPANY."

Resolved, That there shall be one selected from the company, suitable and capable to act as Captain or Leader, and to hold his office until removed by a two-thirds vote of the company.

Resolved, That there shall be some one selected from the Company, to act as Assistant or Aid to the Captain; to advise with him, what is or may be best for the Company, and to hold his office until removed by a two-thirds vote.

Resolved, That we, as men, pledge ourselves to assist each other through all the misfortunes that may befall us on our long and dangerous journey.

Resolved, That the Christian Sabbath shall be observed, except when absolutely necessary to travel.

Resolved, That each and every member shall pay strict and proper respect to the feelings of each and all the Company.

Resolved, That there shall be a sufficient guard appointed each night regularly, by the Captain.

Resolved, That in case of any disputes arising between any members of the Company, they shall be referred to three arbiters, one chosen by each party, and one by the two chosen, whose decision shall be final.

Resolved, That in case of a member's dying, the Company shall give him a decent burial.

Resolved, That the company be divided into four divisions, each to choose a Wagon Master, each division taking the lead in rotation, and the Wagon Master of the division that arrives at the camp ground first shall be the Camp Master for the night, and all the divisions shall keep within hailing distance.

Resolved, That by a majority of votes these resolutions may be altered or more added at any time.

The following officers were elected.—Lewis Clark, of Beloit, Wisconsin, Captain; James Pierce, of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, Assistant Captain; O. Crain, of Angola, Ind., and John Penman, of Beloit, Wisconsin, Chaplains; Dr. S. L. Grow, of Clinton, Wisconsin, Surgeon and Secretary.

MEMBERS.

Lewis Clark, Beloit, Wisconsin.

Peter O Hagen, Aven, "

John Penman, Beloit, "

Wilson Bennet, " "

G N Trumper, " "

J D Parish, " "

Amasa Nobles, " "

A W Allyn, Shopiere, "

Canvass Hopkins, " "

George Marsh, " "

Leander Bemis, Beloit, "

Job R Strange, " "

George A Gillman, " "

Murray Redington, " "

Alvin B Abbott, " "

C S Abbott, " "

Charles Badder, " "

Henry Melon, " "

Almon Bennett, " "

Elias Twist, " "

C M Peck, " "

Francis Banta, " "

P F Chamberlain, " "

T H Farmer, " "

David Phillips, Clinton, "

Michael Murphy, Beloit, "

Hiram Case, Clinton, "

Alex Case, " "

Dr. S L Grow, " "

George Jones, Allens Grove, "

James Mendenhall, Clinton, "

B C Baker, " "

Aaron Case, " "

Nathan Baker, " "

Abner Mendenhall, " "

C M Baldwin, " "

Esa Losce, " "

V B Loseb, " "

Edwin Lease, " "

L C Holbrook, St. Charles, Illinois.

O Moon, " "

J Richmond, " "

O Crain, Angola, Indiana.

Richard Kirdan, " "

John Colman, " "

J E Howe, Geneva, Wisconsin.

Q Sabin, Bloomfield, "

H W Mead, " "

E Purdy, Richmond, Illinois.

B Burdick, " "

Charles McConnel, " "

George Squire, Mineral Point, Wis.

Wm. Thompson, " "

Samson Mitchell, " "

Wm. Arne, " "

James Pierce, " "

William Pierce, " "

John Clowney, " "

George Hardy, " "

Henry Polkenham, " "

Joseph Langdon, " "

Henry Meesenworth, Dodgeville, "

John Sterritt, " "

Richard Baker, Racine, "

Hugh Campbell, " "

Thomas Barker, " "

— Demster, " "

Thomas Farmer, Rockton, Illinois.

Alex McKay, " "

James Cooper, " "

Kanesville, May 7th, 1850.

Frontier Guardian, Print

chandise for sale at the mines, and was apparently more interested in trade than in actual mining operations.

Charles Brett and A. Brackett operated a California shipping agency in Boston and, in October, published a letter sheet with the heading: *California Circular, addressed to all young men in New England, bound for the gold regions in California*. They were about to send out two ships and expected to take along doctors, mechanics, and miners as well as their wives and daughters. The first ship was to have on board a library and a band of music, and all this luxury was to be had for passage money of from \$150 to \$200.

A rival firm, Clarke's General Agency Office, also of Boston, issued a handbill which, though it did not offer the inducement of a band, did promise to supply ships of the first class, "well victualled and ventilated." We also have the published constitutions of the Brothers Mining and Trading Company, of New Haven (with a list of members), the Groton California Company, the Mount Hope and California Mining and Trading Association (presumably a Rhode Island outfit), a handbill for the Mutual Protection Trading and Mining Company of Boston, and even a piece of sheet music, the "California Polka, composed for and respectfully dedicated to the New York Mining Company, by Miss Julia W. Pomeroy."

We now come to two posters advertising the shorter route to California by way of Mexico or the Isthmus. The first, *Captain B. [enjamin] Richardson's Overland Route, via Vera Cruz, City of Mexico, and Mazatlan*, gives the rules governing an expedition which planned to leave New York early in February, 1849, by ship to Vera Cruz and by horseback the rest of the way. The company was organized for mutual protection during the trip and was to disband on arrival at the mines. Officers and committees were to be elected to buy horses, mules and provisions. Each man was to have a horse and a half-interest in a pack mule and was liable for guard duty. The cost of the expedition was to be \$82.50

per man, including passage money to Vera Cruz, a horse and half of a mule. Food was extra, at the rate of $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day, more or less, and 25 cents per day for forage. Imagine what it would cost to travel through that country on horseback today!

The Manhattan California Over-land Association was similarly organized for mutual protection during the journey, and was to be dissolved on reaching San Francisco. They evidently planned to sail from New York to Mexico or the Isthmus, where the 150 members were to be divided into companies, each with its own officers. A doctor was to accompany the expedition and the handbill advertised that they would give special attention to the care of the sick, a wise precaution in a country notorious for its fevers and epidemics.

The most romantic, and at the same time the most difficult and dangerous route to the gold fields was by way of the Mississippi to St. Louis, then up the Missouri to Independence and by ox team and covered wagon over the Plains along the California trail, through South Pass to Hangtown or Placerville in California. This gruelling four-months' journey across parched plains, through hostile Indian country and over the Rocky Mountains could only be attempted successfully by a well-organized company.

It is probable that the Sagamore and California Mining and Trading Company, of Lynn, Massachusetts, was the first over-land company to have its constitution published. It was organized on January 27 and left Boston March 29, 1849, and its little eight-page constitution includes the names and addresses of the fifty-two officers and members of the company. It was a stock company organized for mutual protection on the overland journey and for mining and trading operations in California. The company had a military set-up with a captain and other officers, and each member took his turn at guard duty. Needless to say, each man on the expedition was required to be fully armed with rifle or shotgun, pistols and hunting knife.

A. C. Moore of Plattsburgh, New York, published a broadside, dated January 6, 1849, in which he outlined his plan for an overland expedition of 50 to 100 men. He was to buy the equipment and furnish the supplies for the journey, the living expenses on arrival at the mines to be taken from the profits of the company. Moore was to receive half of each man's earnings for two years. Anyone subscribing \$300, whether he went along or not, would be entitled to one-quarter of one man's earnings, to be taken from Moore's share of the profits.

The Connecticut Mining and Trading Company had Albert Lyman as its chronicler. His *Journal of a Voyage to California* was published at Hartford in 1852.

The diary of George Willis Read, Captain and Surgeon of the Jefferson-California Company of thirty men from Green County, Pennsylvania, remained unpublished until 1927 when it was edited by his daughter and entitled *A Pioneer of 1850*. Organized late in 1849, the company left Independence, Missouri, on May 1, 1850, and reached Hangtown (Placerville) on August 18. This day-by-day record is one of the best accounts we have of the adventures of an overland expedition.

The Beloit Company, just before starting across the Plains, published as a letter sheet its *Preamble and Resolutions* setting forth the rules of the association. It was organized solely for mutual protection during the journey and not as a mining company. The rules set forth the military organization of the company, with the duties of officers and men, all seventy of whom are listed with their addresses, many of them being from Wisconsin, with a few from Illinois and Indiana. This very rare bit of ephemeral printing has considerable added interest since it was one of the first items ever printed at Kanesville or Council Bluffs. The late Douglas C. McMurtrie could locate but a single copy, probably that now in the Coe Collection at Yale, but Mr. Streeter has another.

.....

The day is done; the oxen have been unyoked and watered; the guard is posted for the night; supper is over, and the fire-light flickers along the canvas top of the covered wagon in the background. Off on the horizon a coyote howls to the moon; the men smoking around the campfire are lonely, thinking of home. But they smile when one of the youngsters reaches into the wagon for his guitar. He strums the strings and begins softly to sing, each of the hard-featured and bearded travellers joining in the chorus:

Oh Susanna!
Oh, don't you cry for me,
For I'm bound for California
With my banjo on my knee.

Bibliography

BELOIT COMPANY. Beloit Company. | [Caption title] [At foot of page:] Kanesville, May 7th, 1850. | *Frontier Guardian*, Prnit [sic] [May 6, 1850]. Letter sheet on light blue paper with Preamble and Resolutions printed on recto of first leaf. 27.2 x 21 cm. T. W. Streeter.* Yale (Coe Collection). [1]

Verso of first and recto of second leaf contain an autographed letter signed of Jacob D. Parish, one of the company, written from Kanesville (*Kane* on the post mark), May 9, 1850, to his father, Jacob K. Parish, Randolph, Vermont. Kanesville or Kane, Iowa, is now Council Bluffs. D. C. McMurtrie, in his *Two Early Issues of Council Bluffs Press*, Des Moines, 1935, reproduces what he describes as a "probably unique" copy. He had not heard of this copy.

From the Preamble and Resolutions we learn that this company differs from most of the others for it was organized for mutual protection while crossing the plains and not as a mutual mining and trading company. Lewis Clark, of Beloit, Wisconsin, was elected Captain. The document lists other officers and gives names and addresses of seventy members, mainly from Wisconsin, with a few from Illinois and Indiana.

THE BOSTON AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING JOINT STOCK COMPANY. [Prospectus, Boston, 1849]. No copy located. Howe 12. [2]

* Photostats of Mr. Streeter's copies of most of these titles are available for consultation at the New-York Historical Society.

Organized by Timothy Rix, a Boston merchant. A joint stock company limited to 150 members at \$300 each with Captain Henry Smith, President; Timothy Rix, Vice-President; Willard B. Farwell, Secretary, and eight Directors. According to Howe, the company sailed from Boston on the ship *Edward Everett*, Henry Smith, master, on January 11, 1849, and arrived at San Francisco in 174 days. Like the others, the company was disbanded soon after reaching the mines and thirty of the members became citizens of California. For an interesting account of the adventures of this company, written by its Secretary, see *Cape Horn and Cooperative Mining in '49*, by Willard B. Farwell, in *Century*, August, 1891, pp. 579-594, illus.

BOSTON AND WACHUSETT HOTEL AND MINING COMPANY. Articles of association, | Entered into, this fifth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, by and | between the persons whose names are hereunder written. | [Caption title] [Boston?, 1849]. Broadside on blue paper. 24 x 19.2 cm. T. W. Streeter. Howe 124. [3]

Twenty articles of an association of twenty men, each to pay \$400 and each to supply his own equipment and pay his own passage. The Association to "engage in Hotel and Mining operations," and for this purpose they took with them the materials for the frame of a hotel as well as materials for the houses of the members. According to Howe, this company of twenty-five included five women and sailed from Boston on April 20, 1849, on the brig *Colorado*, Captain Baker, bound for Benecia and Oregon. If they sailed on April 20, as Howe states, it is possible that the Articles (dated June 5) were printed after their arrival on the Pacific coast or, perhaps, in Boston for the use of a second group sent out by the same association.

BRETT, CHARLES, AND A. BRACKETT. California circular, | -addressed to- | all young men in New England, | bound for the gold regions in California. | . . . Chas. Brett, | A. Brackett. | [Boston, 1849]. Letter sheet with printed circular on first leaf, verso blank, and with letter dated at Boston, October 26, 1849, from "C. Brett by Asa B. Hugins" to "Doct. D. S. Allen, Saugus, Mass." on recto of second leaf. On same blue paper as preceding entry. 24.2 x 19.7 cm. T. W. Streeter. [4]

Invitation for those interested to call at the subscriber's office, formerly the Mechanics' Exchange & Reading Room, 4 Wilson's Lane, Boston. Announces that two ships will sail for California, the first the latter part of October, with one or two doctors, mechanics, miners, wives and daughters. The ship, carrying

a library and band of music, expected to make the voyage in 120 days. Passage to cost from \$150 to \$200. The accompanying letter, addressed to a Doctor, states that a physician or apothecary "who can furnish \$1,000 cash can have a fine opportunity to go out in one of the ships, his passage paid and his funds will be invested in something that will turn to a very excellent account, and be in his own hands."

BROTHERS MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Articles | of the | Brothers' Mining & Trading Co., | of New Haven, Conn. | [Caption title] [New Haven, 1849]. 8 p., 8vo. 22 x 13.5 cm. T. W. Streeter. [5]

An association of not less than seventy-five nor more than eighty members, each to contribute \$200 for the equipment of the company and the purchase or chartering of a ship to take them around the Horn to California. The company to be dissolved one year after reaching California unless extended by a two-thirds vote, all members to share alike in the profits. The directors of the company were Abel H. W. Cook, President; George H. Foote, Secretary; Wellington Tuttle, Treasurer; William J. Smith and Horace W. Byington. The company included E. Edmondson, Physician; Matthias E. Willing, Chaplain, and seventy-five other members, all listed with addresses, mostly from New Haven, Bristol, Milford, Derby and other Connecticut towns, with eight from Massachusetts, Maine and New York.

BUNKER HILL TRADING AND MINING ASSOCIATION. Constitution | of the | Bunker Hill | Trading and Mining Association, | adopted January 13th, 1849. | [rule] | Boston: | Printed by Mudge & Corliss, | No. 21 School Street. | 1849. 11 p., 16 x 11 cm. T. W. Streeter. Howe 18; [6]

A joint stock association of 124 shares at \$300 each. Officers: Daniel Bradford, of Duxbury, President; William M. Parker, of Manchester, N. H., Vice-President; Joseph Barrell, of Boston, Secretary; Treasurer not named but he was S. W. Clark, of West Boylston, according to Howe, who spells the Secretary's name *Baret*; seven Directors, named. According to Howe, they sailed from Boston on March 5, 1849, on the ship *Regulus*, reaching San Francisco in 192 days.

CALIFORNIA MUTUAL GOLD MINING COMPANY [of New York City]. [7]

Unpublished diary of Alexander Van Valen (b. Poughkeepsie, June 25, 1819; d. New York, Nov. 24, 1869), owned by the estate of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph W. Myers, great-grandson of the author. This diary, a volume of 85 pp., 3 maps, folio, records the voyage of Van Valen on the bark *Hersilia* from

New York to San Francisco, January 22-August 9, 1849. The manuscript begins with the articles of agreement, constitution and by-laws of the California Mutual Gold Mining Company, by the terms of which Henry A. Kerr and B. S. Clark of New York were to furnish \$2,500 for the expenses of the following men: Alexander Van Valen, Mathew Van Siclen, Stephen P. Clark, William Byxbee and Richard J. Paulison, to go to California to mine gold. The two backers were to receive one-fourth of the profits of the venture, the five miners the balance. The men were to operate for two mining seasons, Van Valen to be the Treasurer and correspondent with the backers, and a Captain to be elected by the miners. There were severe penalties for desertion. A photostat copy of this diary is at the New-York Historical Society.

CLARKE'S GENERAL AGENCY OFFICE. California | Agency Office. | [cut of sailing ship] | Persons who wish to secure a passage to California will do | well to call on the subscriber, who has opened an office for | the express accommodation of persons wishing to embark for | the | Gold Regions. | . . . | Clarke's | General Agency Office, | 78 Ann Street. | . . . | Propeller Power Presses, 142 Washington St., Boston. | [1849]. Broadside. American Antiquarian Society, Chicago Historical Society. [8]

Title from copy in Chicago Hist. Soc., reproduced in *Chicago History*, Winter, 1948-1949, p. 35, and from American Antiquarian Society copy, reproduced in J. H. Jackson's *Gold Rush Album*, p. 18.

This Boston shipping agency which had been "employed by several companies," advertised to transport miners by sailing ship around the Horn to California.

FREMONT MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. By-laws | of the | Fremont | Mining and Trading | Company. | [eagle cut] | Hartford, | J. Gaylord Wells, Printer. | 1849. 24 p., yellow wrappers with cover title within fancy border. 11.2 x 7.2 cm. T. W. Streeter. [9]

A Hartford joint stock company of \$40,000 divided into \$25 shares. Any person buying twelve shares may join. All earnings of individuals belong to the company, which supplied equipment. Company to operate for one year. Deserters to lose all. They sailed around the Horn.

Accompanying this copy of the By-laws is the original printed certificate for twelve shares of stock issued to Eli Brown and signed at Hartford, March 30, 1849, by Joseph Pratt, President, and Edward Bolles, Secretary; and the original manuscript contract between Eli Brown, Jr., of Bloomfield, Connecticut, and Henry Hubbard of the same place, dated March 26, 1849, by which Hub-

bard was to go to California as Brown's representative in the company. Hubbard was to be paid \$387 by Brown and to work for the company for two years or less, each to have half of the profits, Hubbard to be free of the contract if, after two years, Brown's profit had reached \$5,000. Hubbard to pay Brown half of the profits for two full years if he should leave the company before the end of that period. For additional entry, see at end.

GORDON'S CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION. To California | on shares. | [rule]
 | To sail on January 15th. [1849]. | [rule] | Entire expense for pas-
 sage and outfit \$160. | [rule] | A few persons of industrious habits and
 who can give undoubted references of their good moral character, can
 join | Gordon's | California Association. | [Caption title] [At end:]
 A. Cochrane's | 143 Walnut St. 2 doors above Sixth, Phila. | . . . |
 [Philadelphia, 1849]. Broadside. 46 x 28.7 cm. T. W. Streeter. [10]

An association of 100 members, each paying \$160 for equipment and passage around the Horn to California. Broadside lists elaborate mining and camping equipment. The company included the President, a practical geologist, who was to have one-fifth of the profits, a German assayer and a physician. Each member to have supplies for six months. "The agent of the Association is now in California and doing well." The main body to go by sea, around the Horn, an advance party to go across Mexico "as pioneers, to survey locations and prepare the way."

GROTON CALIFORNIA COMPANY. Preamble | and | constitution, | of the |
 "Groton California Company." | [double rule] | D. S. Ruddock,
 Printer, | New-London. | 1849. 8 p., plain green wrappers. 16.8 x
 10.2 cm. T. W. Streeter. [11]

A joint stock company "to go out [by sea, around the Horn] to California for the purpose of collecting gold in the newly discovered mines in that country, or of engaging in any other lawful business that shall appear to be for the best interest of said company when they shall arrive there." The company to consist of thirty-seven (later raised to thirty-nine) members at \$400 each. The Company to operate for two years and all profits to remain with the company until the final division. The names of thirty-seven members of the company are printed at the end, with two added by pen.

HARTFORD UNION MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Journal | of the |
 Hartford Union Mining and | Trading Company. | [wavy rule] |
 Containing the name, residence and occupation of each | member, with
 incidents of the voyage, &c. &c. | [cut of ship] | Printed by J.[ohn]

L.[inville] Hall, | On board the | Henry Lee, | 1849. 88 p., 12mo.
17.2 x 10.7 cm. Back and corners of red leather, marbled paper sides.
The New-York Historical Society, T. W. Streeter. Cowan, Wheat
No. 88. [12]

There were 122 members of the company on board and five of the crew. There were five Directors who remained at home and seven Managers who "control the affairs of the company." It was a joint stock company with a capital of \$37,025 and supplies for two years, in addition to a large amount of merchandise. They sailed February 17 on board the *Henry Lee*, David P. Vail of Sag Harbor, N. Y., Captain, and reached San Francisco on September 13, 1849. This very interesting journal by George G. Webster is a day-by-day account of their voyage around the Horn. It was reprinted by the printer in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1898 and in San Francisco by the Grabhorn Press for the Book Club of California in 1928.

Previous bibliographers have given John Linville Hall, the printer, as the author of this journal, but Mr. Charles Eberstadt has called to my attention the *Supplement to the* [Hartford] *Courant*, June 2, 1849, pp. 85-86, where, under the heading *The Hartford Union Mining Company*, the editor of the paper says: "We have been permitted to see the Journal of this company, kept by one of the members, Geo. G. Webster, Esq., and printed by J. L. Hall, on board the Henry Lee. It is an extremely interesting 'log,' and a faithful portrait of the experiences of a protracted sea voyage. We make a few extracts as follows." This is followed by 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ columns of extracts from the printed journal. The published roster of the members of the expedition includes "Geo. G. Webster, Hartford, lawyer" and the last page of the journal acknowledges the printer's obligations to Webster and others. It seems probable that the printed account was based on Webster's day-by-day journal with additions by the printer, the Captain and others of the company. The fact that extracts from the Journal were reprinted by the *Courant* on June 2 proves that it was printed during the voyage and not after the arrival of the *Henry Lee* in San Francisco Bay on September 13, as stated by Mr. Cowan.

THE JEFFERSON-CALIFORNIA COMPANY. A Pioneer of 1850, George Willis Read (1819-1880) . . . Edited by Georgia Willis Read. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927. xxvi, 185 p., illus., folded map, 8vo. Wheat 163. [13]

Original diary, here published for the first time, of the Captain and Surgeon of the Jefferson-California Company, formed in 1849 by thirty men from Greene County, Pennsylvania. They went to California across the plains, leaving the vicinity of Independence, Missouri, May 1, and reaching Hangtown

(Placerville), California, August 18, 1850. The volume gives a day-by-day account of their trip across the plains and lists the members of the party.

KNICKERBOCKER EXPLORING COMPANY. Constitution [and roster with members' names, marital status, age, residence and occupation, ending with the song: "Hy Ho, Away We Go O'er the Rocky Mountains, O!"] Fort Smith, Arkansas: Herald Press, March, 1849. Broadside. Yale (Coe Collection). [13A]

MANHATTAN CALIFORNIA OVER-LAND ASSOCIATION. By-Laws | of the | Manhattan California Over-Land Association. | [New York], 1849. Broadside. 24.6 x 19.3 cm. T. W. Streeter. [14]

An association of not more than 150 members, divided into divisions, to be dissolved on reaching San Francisco. This seems to have been one of the companies which went to California by way of Mexico or the Panama route since the word *Over-Land* appears in its title and since the decision as to the size of each division was to be determined while the company was at sea. The general officers of the association were to be a President and Secretary and each division was to have a Director and Treasurer. There were also one or more Doctors and a Finance Committee.

MECHANICS' MINING COMPANY IN THE CITY OF NEW-YORK. By-Laws | of the | Mechanics' Mining Company | in the City of New-York. | [rule] | Incorporated January 10, 1849. | [rule] | New-York: | Israel Sackett, Printer, | No. 1 Nassau Street, | [rule] | 1849. 8 p., on light blue paper. 15.7 x 10 cm. T. W. Streeter. [15]

Incorporated "for mining purposes in California," with a capital stock of \$10,000, divided into 500 shares. The corporation was to be governed by three Trustees: James Greene, President; William Dunning, Treasurer; and Royal H. Waller, Secretary, all of New York City. The trustees to pay agents, buy mining supplies, food, etc. The corporation was to operate for two years or longer. They sailed around the Horn.

MONTAGUE MINING AND TRADING ASSOCIATION, OF NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT. By-Laws of the | Montague Mining and Trading Assoc'n, | of New Haven, Conn. | [Caption title] [New Haven, 1849]. Broadside, including thirteen by-laws within an ornamental border. 30 x 18.3 cm. T. W. Streeter. [16]

A joint stock company with a Superintendent, Secretary, Treasurer, two

Auditors, and seven Directors (including Sup't, Secretary and Treasurer), which sailed from New Haven in the schooner *G. H. Montague* on January 27, 1849, with fifty-four men in the company. See Haskins, p. 484.

MOORE, A. C. For California. | [Caption title] [Signed at foot of second column:] A. C. Moore. | Plattsburgh, Feb. 6, 1849. | [Plattsburgh, N. Y., 1849]. Broadside. 31.4 x 17.6 cm. T. W. Streeter. [17]

Moore planned to organize an overland company of 50 to 100 members to go by a northern overland route to mine gold in California. Equipment (enumerated) and expenses en route to be paid by Moore. On arrival, living expenses to be taken from earnings. Moore to receive half of each man's earnings for two years. Each member of the company to put up \$300 security for the carrying out of his contract. "Every person who furnishes the sum of \$300, whether he goes or stays at home shall be entitled to one quarter of the nett proceeds of the earnings of one member of the Company coming from the proportion appropriated to the subscriber. [*i.e.*, Moore]."

MOUNT HOPE AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING ASSOCIATION.

Form of copartnership of the Mount Hope and | California Mining and Trading Association. | [Bristol, R. I., 1849]. Broadside. 35.4 x 21.2 cm. T. W. Streeter. [18]

A copartnership formed, presumably in Bristol, R. I., for the purchase, stocking and operating of a vessel to sail to California to engage in mining and trading operations. There were to be shares of stock at \$400 each, plus \$25 as a guarantee against desertion. "No dividends shall be made in less than one year from the time of sailing from Bristol." The form of copartnership is followed by seventeen by-laws. "A crew of eight men shall be hired to work ship." Dated 1849 but no place is indicated in the document other than the reference to the ship's sailing from Bristol. Probably a Rhode Island venture for a voyage around the Horn to California.

MUTUAL PROTECTION TRADING AND MINING COMPANY. For | California! | Mutual Protection | Trading & Mining Co. | [cut of ship] | Having purchased the splendid, coppered and very fast sailing | barque Emma Isidora, | . . . | James H. Prince, Agent, | 23 State Street, corner of Devonshire St., Boston. | For further particulars, see the Constitution. Propeller Power Presses, | 142 Washington St., Boston. | [1849]. Broadside. American Antiquarian Society. [19]

A company of sixty men, with a Doctor, "each member pays 300 dollars and is

entitled to an equal proportion of all profits made by the company either at mining or trading, and holds an equal share of all the property belonging to the company."

Title from facsimile in J. H. Jackson's *Gold Rush Album*, p. 19.

NAUMKEAG MUTUAL TRADING AND MINING COMPANY. California. | [French rule] | Outlines of an address | before the Naumkeag Mutual Trading and Mining Com- | pany, | at the Tabernacle Church in Salem, on Sabbath evening, Jan. 14, 1849. | [rule] | By Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, D.D. | [rule] | "Where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good." | [Caption title] [Salem, 1849]. 11 p. 12mo. 19 x 11.5 cm. Yellow wrappers with half title on cover, within ruled border: [French rule] | Rev. Dr. Winchester's address | before the | Naumkeag Mutual Trading & Mining Company, | at the Tabernacle Church in Salem, on Sabbath evening, | January 14, 1849. | [French rule]. Howe 71, Sabin 105322, Cowan p. 695. Boston Public Library, Library of Congress, Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Public Library, T. W. Streeter. [20]

This address, by Rev. Samuel Melancthon Worcester, Pastor of the Tabernacle Church of Salem, Mass., includes part of the Preamble and five of the by-laws of the Company from which we learn that the Company was formed "for the purpose of carrying on the Trading and Mining operations, in the vicinity of the Bay of San Francisco, in California." We learn from Howe that the company sailed from Boston, January 23, 1849, on the ship *Capitol*, Thorndike Proctor, Master; Joseph S. Wallis, President; George W. Woodberry, Vice-President; Asa Kitfield, Joseph Wallis, Augustus Noble and John S. Foster, Directors. There were twenty in the company and the passage to California occupied 162 days.

NEW BEDFORD AND CALIFORNIA JOINT STOCK MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Articles of Association. [New Bedford, Mass.], 1849. 10 p., 20 cm. Title from Cowan p. 453, Howe 74. [21]

According to Howe, the company of thirty-five sailed from New Bedford, Mass., March 2, 1849, on the schooner *Emmaline*, Franklin Bourne, Master; Charles Devoll, Mate.

NEW-ENGLAND AND CALIFORNIA TRADING AND MINING ASSOCIATION. Constitution | and | By-Laws | of the | New-England and California | Trading and Mining Association. | Together with | the names of the

officers and members, | the order of exercises at the Tremont Temple, | and the | Address by Rev. Edward Beecher, D.D. | [rule] | Boston: | Printed by J. B. Chisholm, | No. 5. Water Street. | [1849]. 34 p., 12mo. 19.3 x 12 cm. Yellow wrappers with half title, within ornamental border, on front cover. Cowan p. 453, Howe 77. T. W. Streeter. [22]

The Streeter copy contains pencilled corrections to constitution and by-laws and adds the occupation after most of the names of the members.

This joint stock company had a capital stock of \$30,000 divided into 100 shares of \$300 each. The names and addresses of the hundred members of the company are given. The officers were: Herman H. Green, President; Jesse Sawyer, Vice-President; Parker H. Pierce, Jr., Secretary; and eight Directors, whose names are given. The meeting at which Dr. Beecher addressed the company took place on January 25, 1849, and, according to Howe, they sailed from Boston, February 1, 1849, on the ship *Leonore*, owned by the company, H. H. Green, Master and President. The passage to California occupied 149 days. The ship then became a store ship, was later in the lumber trade and was broken up in 1870.

NEW YORK MINING COMPANY. California Polka | Composed for | and | respectfully dedicated to | the | New York Mining Company, | by | Miss Julia W. Pomeroy. | New York, | Published by Wm. Hall & Son, 543 Broadway. | Entered according to Act of Congress AD 1849 by Wm. Hall & Son in the Clerks Office of the Dist. Court of the Southn. Dist. of New York. [5] p., 4to. 33 x 25.5 cm. The New-York Historical Society (Landauer Collection). [23]

NEWPORT AND CALIFORNIA EXPEDITION. This indenture of agreement, | Made and concluded at Newport, in the County of Newport and State of Rhode Island, in the United States of North America, | this Twenty-Second day of January, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-Nine—Witnesseth, | . . . | [Caption title] [Newport, 1849]. Broadside on light blue paper. 35.5 x 22 cm. T. W. Streeter. [24]

A copartnership for the purchasing and fitting of the ship *Audley Clarke* for a voyage to California for the purpose of mining and other business for three years. The stock of the company was to be \$14,000, divided into seventy shares of \$200 each. The broadside includes the constitution and by-laws but no list of officers or members.

PACIFIC PIONEERS [OF MERIDEN, CONNECTICUT]. Articles of association, | of the | Pacific Pioneers. | [Caption title] [Meriden, 1849]. 7 p., green wrappers, front cover lettered, within ornamental border, *Pacific Pioneers*. 11.1 x 7.6 cm. T. W. Streeter. [25]

A stock company for mining, trading, building, buying and selling real estate, manufacturing, transporting, etc. in California. The company was to continue in business for eighteen months from March 1, 1849, and was to consist of twenty members at \$500 per share. The officers were to reside in California, except the Agent who was to remain in Meriden or its vicinity. "The Members of the Company . . . shall adhere to the laws of the State of Connecticut, so far as the same shall be applicable to their circumstances, so long as no other laws exist."

Before they left for California the company listened to: *An address to the "Pacific Pioneers," on the eve of their departure for California, March 22, 1849*. By G. W. Perkins, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Meriden. [French rule] *West Meriden: From E. Hinman's Office*. 1849. 16 p., 8vo. 23 x 14.5 cm. Sabin 60952 note, Cowan 479. N.Y.H.S., etc.

RICHARDSON, BENJAMIN. "United we'll stand." | [cut of ship] California!! [cut of arm and hammer] | [double rule] | Captain B. Richardson's Overland Route, | via Vera Cruz, City of Mexico, and Mazatlan. | [double rule] | [Caption title] [At foot of page:] Argus Print, 79 Chatham-st. N. Y. | [1849]. Broadside on light blue paper. 31.2 x 16.4 cm. T. W. Streeter. [26]

Minutes of a meeting of the Association at the National Hotel, Courtland [sic] Street, January 23, asking that a date of sailing be set prior to February 10 and that an Agreement and Code of Regulations be printed. Signed by J. M. Coughlin, Chairman, 76 Broad-street, and Richard Chas. Gutteridge, Sec'y. Followed by the agreement by which the company is to remain together until they reach San Francisco, that each member pay \$82.50 passage money from New York to Vera Cruz and the expenses of crossing the Isthmus. Captain Richardson to be available daily at the Company's office, 145 Maiden Lane. The exact name of the Company or Association is not given. The broadside gives interesting details of the organization, equipment and rules of conduct of the company while crossing the Isthmus.

SACRAMENTO NAVIGATION AND MINING COMPANY. Preamble and By-Laws | of the | Sacramento Navigation and Mining Company. | We, the subscribers, agree to form ourselves into a Joint Stock | Company, the capital of which shall not be less than \$20,000, and | be divided in-

to not less than forty shares, for the purpose of carry- | ing on business
in California: . . . | Cherryfield, Me., July 7, 1849. | . . . | [Cherry-
field ?, 1849]. Broadside on light blue paper. 31.3 x 20.5 cm. T. W.
Streeter. [27]

The agreement is followed by twenty-eight by-laws and a list of forty-eight members. The Company was to operate for two years, to sail around the Horn, but any member wishing to go by way of the Isthmus might arrange to do so and meet the rest of the company in California.

SAGAMORE AND CALIFORNIA MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Con-
stitution | of the | Sagamore and California | Mining and Trading
Company, | Lynn, Mass. | [rule] | Lynn: | Printed by C. & H. J.
Butterfield. | 1849. 8 p., 12mo. 15.5 x 10 cm. Marbled wrappers.
Howe 95. T. W. Streeter. [28]

A mutual joint stock company of fifty-two members organized "for the purpose of proceeding to California, over land, via St. Louis and Independence, and returning, and for engaging in such mining and trading operations as may be deemed most advisable and profitable." Dated January 27, 1849, and so probably the earliest printed overland agreement. Howe, who calls this company the Sagamore and Sacramento Company of Lynn, states that it started from Boston, March 29, 1849, to go by South Pass to the Rocky Mountains. The pamphlet lists the members of the company with their addresses and the officers: Alonzo Lewis, of Lynn, President; Dr. F. Paige, of Lowell, Vice-President; C. E. Mack, of Lowell, Treasurer; B. F. Kendrick, of Nashville, Recording Secretary; Francis Dixon, of Lynn, Corresponding Secretary, Assayer of Metals and Captain; E. G. Baker, of Lynn; Moses Jewett, of Lowell; and B. F. Kellum, of Lynn, Directors, three Lieutenants, four Sergeants and four Corporals, all named. The twenty-eight articles of the constitution include the statement that all members shall share equally in profits and losses, give details of duties of officers and members, regulations for work and behaviour, that each member shall furnish \$250 to the company and each shall be armed with a rifle or shot gun, a pair of ten inch rifle pistols or a large revolver and a hunting knife, the pistols and knife to be worn in a belt, around the body.

SOUTH SHORE AND CALIFORNIA JOINT STOCK COMPANY. The best chance yet, for | California! | [same cut of ship as in Clarke entry above] | A meeting will be held in Cohasset, at the office of | H. J. Turner, | on Saturday, January 27th, at 11 o'clock, for the pur- | pose of forming a Company, to be called the "South Shore and | California Joint Stock Company;" to be composed of 30 | members, and each

member paying \$300. | Cohasset, January 24, 1849. | [rule] | Propeller Power Presses, 142 Washington St., Boston. | [1849]. Broadside. Chicago Historical Society. [29]

Title from J. H. Jackson's *Gold Rush Album*, p. 18. Howe 105.

According to Howe, the company sailed from Boston, April 3, 1849, on the brig *Planet*, with a company of eighty-one, and arrived in 160 days. Officers: Henry Pratt, President; John H. Baker, Vice-President, both of Cohasset; George Adams and George Stoddard of Hingham, and Clark Cuttings and Artemas Thorndike of Cohasset, Directors.

TALLMAN MINING AND TRADING ASSOCIATION. Form of | co-partnership | and | by-laws | of the | Tallman | Mining and Trading | Association, | of | Providence. | [rule] | Providence: | Printed by M. B. Young. | 1849. 12 p., 12mo. 16 x 10.6 cm. Plain blue wrappers. T. W. Streeter. [30]

"A co-partnership [dated August 6, 1849] in the business of buying the ship *South America*, and freighting her with such goods as the Directors shall see fit for that purpose, for the coast of California and elsewhere, and engaging in such mining and trading operations as shall be deemed by the Directors the most advisable and proper." Each share of stock to cost \$500. The company to sail round the Horn to California. Officers: Esek Tallman, President and Treasurer; William F. Hammond, Vice-President; George M. Webster, Secretary; J. H. N. Gardner and N. W. Sowle, Directors.

References

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST, and ROBERT GRANNISS COWAN. *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930*. San Francisco, John Henry Nash, 1933. 3 vols.

HASKINS, C. W. *The Argonauts of California*. New York, Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1890. 501 p., illus.

Lists 35,000 pioneers who reached California by the end of 1849 and records the sailing of over 100 ships from New York City, 50 from Boston and 60 from other New England ports, with lists of passengers.

HOWE, OCTAVIUS THORNDIKE. *Argonauts of '49; History and Adventures of the Emigrant Companies from Massachusetts 1849-1850*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1923. 221 p., illus.

Appendix contains list of 124 mining companies from Massachusetts going to California in 1849, with dates of starting, length of voyage, number of mem-

bers, etc. References in our bibliography are to this appendix by number rather than by page.

JACKSON, JOSEPH HENRY, *ed. Gold Rush Album*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. ix, 239 p., illus., maps.

WHEAT, CARL I. *Books of the California Gold Rush*. San Francisco, 1949. [95] p., illus.

I am indebted to Mr. Charles Eberstadt, of Edward Eberstadt and Sons, for certain corrections and additions in the text and for the description of the following pertinent manuscripts in their possession:

BRISTOL AND CALIFORNIA COMPANY, Bristol, Connecticut. Articles of Association, dated at Bristol, December 18, 1848, and signed by George W. Dresser, George W. Bartholomew, G. L. Halsey, A. J. Norton, Isaac Pierce, Jared Goodrich, Wellington Winston, and F. L. Lardner. Written in front of the cash book of the company with individual accounts for the members, including the following who did not sign the Articles: Elbridge G. Atkins and Alpheus A. Dodge. A joint stock company, each member to pay \$400, profits and losses to be shared equally, the company to operate at least for the first ten months of 1849. The officers were to be a President, Secretary, Treasurer, Board of Directors and Agent, the latter (George W. Bartholomew) to transact all business of the company. Manuscript Cash Book of 220 p., of which 21 p. contain the written record.

CONGRESS AND CALIFORNIA MUTUAL PROTECTION ASSOCIATION, of Roxbury, Mass. Contract between Stephen Hammond and Benjamin H. Freeman, of Roxbury, March 10, 1849, by which the former agreed to pay the latter's \$300 membership in the company, each to have half of the profits, the latter to continue with the company for six months after arrival at San Francisco, or longer, and the latter to pay the former \$350 in case he failed to carry out his contract. Also Freeman's receipt for the \$300, dated at Roxbury, March 10, 1849.

FREMONT MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Agreement of Henry R. Sage, Hartford, April 2, 1849, acknowledging \$300 advanced by Sidney A. Ensign for twelve shares of the stock of the company for the former by which he agrees to continue a member of the company with the understanding that, if he should desert the company, he will pay

Ensign \$1,000 with interest. Ensign to receive "his proportion of the profits." Also a similar agreement between Sage and Ensign, April 2, 1849, by which Sage acknowledges Ensign's payment of \$300 for membership in the company and agrees to go with the company, to pay Ensign the \$300 from the first dividends of the company and also one-third of his share of the profits, the other two-thirds of the profits to be retained by Sage. See No. 9 above.

THE OPHIR COMPANY, of New York. Articles of agreement of the company, dated at New York, Jan. 13, 1849, and signed by the members of the company: R. H. Jeffrey, Wm. B. Loser, Jno H. Demerest, Wm [?] Schmidt, N. A. Brown, William Smith, John D. King, Horace Bacon, George S. Nichols per S. Nichols. An association for mining and trading to be governed by a committee of three, with a Secretary.

ROXBURY SAGAMORE MINING AND TRADING COMPANY. Agreement between Stephen Hammond and Elbridge Currier of Roxbury, Mass., Feb. 1, 1849, by which the former agrees to pay the latter's membership of \$250 in the company plus \$75 expenses, each to have half of the profits. Currier agrees to go to California with the company, to remain with it for at least six months and work for the company. If Currier fails to go with the company he is to pay Hammond half the value of the share. The agreement signed by the two parties and also by Benj. H. Burrell, President, and Charles B. Burrell, Secretary and Treasurer of the Company. Also receipt from Currier to Hammond, February 9, 1849, for \$80 expense money. Also receipt of Charles B. Burrell, Secretary of the Company, to Elbridge Currier, Roxbury, February 12, 1849, for \$250 for membership in the Company.

Humphrey Dyson's Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books*

By WILLIAM A. JACKSON

THE purpose of this paper is not to add to the information, such as it is, that has previously been published concerning Humphrey Dyson,¹ but rather to examine the rôle of the book collector as exemplified by him. Dyson was a notary public who died in February, 1632, and who collected English printed books, particularly those relating to the history of church and state. He placed his signature on the title-pages of most of his books, though sometimes he affixed a stamp of his name and profession on the versos of the titles, while in a few cases he had his initials stamped in gold on the bindings. In his will, he directed that his executor, William Jumper, should "have care to put of and sell my bookes to the most profit that he can." Mr. Jumper, who died ten years later, appears to have sold a large portion of Dyson's library to Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry Compter (that is, an assistant to the sheriff, with his office in the Court in the Poultry), for a large number of Dyson's books appeared in the auction sale of Smith's library held by Richard Chiswell in 1682, and the catalogue declares that "a great part of the Rarities" had been gathered out of the library of Humphrey Dyson. One of the lots then sold comprised six notebooks, compiled by Dyson himself, containing the

* Read at the meeting of the Society at Princeton, N. J., June 4, 1949.

¹ *The Library*, 3 Ser., I (1910), 144-151, and *Harvard Library Bulletin*, I (1947), 76-89.

manuscript catalogue of some of his books. These notebooks were bought by Narcissus Luttrell, and by his heir, Luttrell Wynne, were bequeathed to All Souls College, Oxford. Through the kindness of Dr. Craster, formerly Bodley's librarian and now librarian of the Codrington, I have been permitted to obtain a microfilm of this catalogue, and these observations are based upon a study of it, though for want of time I have had to limit my statistics to the period ending with the year 1600.

That Chiswell's statement of the source of many of Smith's books is correct may be gathered from the fact that a large number of the books listed in Dyson's catalogue have placed beside them the letters "R S" or "S," often with the prices which Dyson had paid altered, always to a somewhat higher figure. In almost all cases the increases in the price are very slight indeed. Frequently a group of books which had cost Dyson a shilling was sold for eighteen-pence, or even less. In collections of early English books both in this country and in England one frequently finds books bearing Dyson's signature which are not listed in the surviving manuscript catalogue. Some of these also Richard Smith appears to have purchased, and it would seem that he must have had his pick of Dyson's entire library, and not merely of that portion of which the catalogue is preserved in the Codrington at All Souls.

Dyson's catalogue is divided, a notebook to a sovereign, from Henry VII to Charles I, except for Edward VI. Each notebook is arranged chronologically, an opening for each year, and through the end of the reign of Henry VIII Dyson frequently gave the name of the printer, but thereafter he confined himself to a transcript of the title and a statement of the size. Occasionally he gave the author, but in some cases, particularly of anonymous books, or ones with initials only, his attribution of authorship differs from that now accepted. Altogether, in the portion of these surviving notebooks which I have checked, that is through the year 1600, a total of 658 books are recorded, not counting the

collections of broadsides. Of these 658 titles no copies are now known of 107. Of the 551 which are known today, I have only identified some 57 copies as having Dyson's name on their titles, but I have no doubt that a large proportion of the remaining items would be found to be represented somewhere by Dyson's copy. Since many of the books are known by only two or three copies, their identification should not be very difficult, although it would involve pestering a large number of librarians, for the books are widely scattered. Altogether there are 67 books which Dyson once had of which only one copy is now known, and it is probable that a large part of these 67 would be found to be Dyson's copies.²

Since a very large proportion of the single-leaf broadsides and proclamations of this period which have survived to us have been preserved through Dyson's having gathered them together and bound them in volumes, it is all the more remarkable that this somewhat obscure collector of the early seventeenth century should be responsible also for having preserved to us so many books of that period which are known today only by the copies he once owned. In doing so he exercised not only the proper, but the greatest function of a book collector, as a preserver of the records of mankind. Dyson was what we would call today a specialist collector. His interests, as I have said, were in English history, not in English literature. The collection which he formed must have been noted in his own day. He was a friend of Anthony Munday, and Robert Bateman, the bookseller to Charles I, was one of his legatees, so that he was known in bookish circles.³ When Richard Smith, a man obviously much more

² While I have made no attempt to check all of them, I did do some sample checking by means of the Edwards microfilm facsimilies. Of a dozen or more, nearly all turned out to have Dyson's signature on their titles. I presume that the same proportion would hold for the rest of the unique items. Those who have had any experience with microfilm will understand why I have not attempted to examine all of them.

³ Although both Dyson and Smith at one time lived in the Jewry, they may not have known each other, for Smith's appointment as Secondary was not until after Dyson's death and he does not mention Dyson in his *Obituary*.

wealthy than Dyson, learned of his opportunity to acquire Dyson's books, he would have lost no time in doing so. At Smith's sale many of Dyson's books passed into the collections of Samuel Pepys, Narcissus Luttrell, the Earl of Egremont, Lord Mostyn, and Bishop Stillingfleet. Pepys' books are preserved at Magdalen, Stillingfleet's at Marsh's Library in Dublin, the Egremont books at Petworth (until modern times, when part of them were dispersed), while Mostyn's books were sold only in our century and Luttrell's were kept together until near the end of the eighteenth century and some until only a little over a decade ago. It is therefore obvious that the decisive and crucial moment in the story of the survival of all these books was when they were first acquired by Humphrey Dyson. Because he gathered them—some of them printed in his own lifetime, but many before he was born—made them part of what was then an important collection recognized by his fellow collectors, and therefore made them available to other collectors who followed after him, he belongs in the rank of the great preservers of literature. If Mr. Streeter, our former president and fellow member, could be assured that three hundred years from now over ten per cent of his great collection of Western Americana, not counting broadsides, would be the only surviving copies of important pieces in our own history, he would, I am sure, feel that his collecting had been worth while. And that is what we may credit to the industry and bibliophilic knowledge of Humphrey Dyson, Notary Public.

That Dyson was not wholly successful in insuring that all his books, which he had so lovingly gathered together, should be preserved, may have been because of his inability to afford the proper binding of large numbers of his pamphlets, for when they were sold in the Smith sale many of them were bundled together, in lots ranging from 20 to more than 120 pieces, under the heading "Stitched and Unbound." A great many of the items which are marked in his manuscript catalogue with the initials of Richard Smith, and which do not occur by name in Smith's catalogue,

must have been included in these bundles. In one lot there were then sold "Several forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving on Sundry Occasions by the appointment of Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, as also by Archbishop Cranmer, to the number of 26." Although this bundle was sold among the unbound collections, the purchaser apparently had it bound, and in the latter part of the nineteenth century it came upon the market again at a country auction and was purchased by W. C. Hazlitt, who broke it up and sold the separate pieces, all with the signature of Dyson on them, either to the British Museum or to Henry Huth. Several of these pieces are unique, and probably would not have been preserved had they not been bound by the purchaser in 1682.

However, while the fact that so many of Dyson's books were unbound may be the reason for their not having survived, it is also probable that the collectors of that day had great difficulty in distinguishing what was really valuable and scarce and what was not, among the 20,000 items in the Smith sale. We cannot read their minds, but we can tell something from the prices which different books fetched in that sale. Of the nine Caxtons which Smith had collected, several of them now identifiable and very fine copies, not one brought more than eighteen shillings, while a copy of Michael Servetus' *De Trinitate*, 1531, a book then well known to be scarce, fetched £5/1/0. This last year the Harvard Library acquired a fine copy of the Servetus, which had belonged to Count Hoym, for less than \$800, whereas any one of the Caxtons would today fetch a great deal more than that. It is apparent, therefore, that when the collectors of that day could be assured of the comparative rarity and importance of an item, they were ready to pay an outside price for it.

Collectors normally do not care to have a former owner's name signed in ink on the title-pages of their books, unless, of course, that signature is a desirable one wherever it may occur, but among many of the greatest rarities of English literature of this period

are to be found books which have on their titles the signatures of Myles Blomefield, Frances Wolfreston, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, and Edward Palmer. Almost any book bearing one of their signatures is more likely than not to be an item of great intrinsic interest, and no collector in this field need ever be ashamed that his copy of a rare book has one of their names on its title. These signatures have preserved for us the identity of the original collectors who recognized the importance of these books, and who in adding them to distinguished collections gave them a reasonable chance of survival by ensuring that when sold or otherwise dispersed they would come to the attention of collectors and not be thrown away as unconsidered trifles. Once they had been placed in the succession of established collectors, and either gathered in calf-bound tract volumes, or in the morocco of Lewis of the "Black-letter" period, the principal hazards which they would face would be fire, flood, and uninsurable acts of God. Humphrey Dyson's name belongs in the honorable roll I have just recited, and yet it is interesting to note that in the catalogues of the Mostyn and Leconfield sales the books having his signature on their titles are described as having "a signature on title" as if it were a disfigurement.

George Parker Winship, when I was an undergraduate, recommended to me that instead of studying the books that have survived I should spend my time studying the books of which no copy was known. At that time I think I told him that, as the Irishman would say, in order to learn anything about an unknown book you first have to find a copy, but as the years have gone by I have often recalled his recommendation, and now believe that there is a great deal more to it than would first appear. From this list of his own books made so carefully by Humphrey Dyson, we can see that fifteen per cent of the books he then owned are no longer traceable, and they include a number of books of the greatest interest.

For example, Dyson had "A dialogue in verse betweene Watkyn & Jeffrey of the pride & evell life of Cardinall Wolsey, in octavo [1530]," for which he paid a shilling. A number of broadsides on the same subject which formerly were Dyson's have been preserved in the Society of Antiquaries, but this book is not known, and perhaps would tell us a good deal about the feeling concerning the Cardinal that we can now only gather from reading between the lines in the State Papers.

A side-light on Henry VIII might be obtained if we only had a copy of "A Comfortable consolacōn wherein the people may see howe farre greater Cause they have to be gladd for the Joyfull birth of prince Edward, then sorry for the death of Queene Jane, printed in octauo by the K^{es} printer [1537]."

Moreover, a good many items which Dyson collected concerning the rise of the merchant companies, and of the sea fights with Spain, are apparently lost to us forever, as, for example, "An Act made 8 Eliz for the Corporacōn of Marchents adventur^{rs} for the discouerie of newe Trades of the Muscouy company, printed in folio," in 1566; "The Marriners booke conteyning godlie & necessarie orders of prayers to be obserued in euery Shipp both for the Master Maryners & all others for the tymes of their voyages printed in octavo 1575";⁴ Nicholas Breton's "A discourse in Comendacōn of the aduentures of Captain Drake . . . in octavo [1580]"; "A true discourse of the aduentures & travailes of David Ingram being sett on Shore wth 100 more of his fel lowes by Captaine Hawkins in the heathen Countries in 8° 1583," "Newes out of Turkey of the losse of the Shipp called the Mary Martin 1584 in verse in octavo"; "Newes from Turkey A true report in verse of a Seafight in the Straights by 5 shippes of London against 11 Gallies & 2 ffrigatt^{es} of the King of Spaine 1586 in quarto"; and, in the same year, "The aduentures of a Sea-

⁴ This title is recorded in Watt *Bibliotheca Britannica* II (1824) 686g as written by Thomas Mors, but no copy has been located.

fight of the Anne Gallant & the Princesse against the King of Spaines shippes . . . in 4°."

Of six satirical epitaphs on Bishop Edmund Bonner published in 1569, only one has survived. And perhaps we would know more about the court of Queen Elizabeth if we had a copy of "The dead mans right or an Apologie in defence of the hono^r of the Earle of Leicester deceased against the libells & Calumnies of his aduersaries in octauo [1588]."

It would be interesting to compare the 1598 form of "An Apologie of the Earle of Essex against those w^{ch} Jealously & maliciously taxed him to be the hinderer of the peace of his Country penned by himself 1598, in 4^o" with the well-known book of a similar title but a later date.

These, and many others which could be mentioned, are not now traceable. Probably some of them have survived and will in due course come to notice. But it is apparent that no history of the book production of that period, or even of the social and political or ecclesiastical history of the time, can be written without taking into account the fact that a good deal of the evidence cannot now be examined.

May I conclude my little homily by reiterating that a collector who does not merely buy high spots or books already known to other collectors, but discovers for himself a field which he can cultivate thoroughly, performs thereby a valuable function by bringing into the line of other collectors who follow him books they might never have seen, and so preserves those books for posterity. If he marks his acquisitions, either with his signature, his stamp, or his bookplate, future generations may be given an opportunity of honoring him for the service he has performed, and he will the more successfully accomplish the preservation of his collections if he binds his books or cases them suitably, so that they will be regarded by later generations as being worthy of preservation. Finally, we must recognize that despite all the work of the collectors of the past, a considerable portion of what

once was printed no longer exists, and it is possible that the study of such lost books may become a recognized part of bibliographical work, just as the paleontologists are forced to reconstruct beasts whose bones they have never seen. Researches into books that have not survived may prove to be far more fruitful than at first seems possible.

The Two Earliest Prompt Books of *Hamlet**

By JAMES G. McMANAWAY

I

ONE of the joys of watching a performance of a good play is the recollection of other performances, and so when I first saw the Laurence Olivier picturization of *Hamlet* it was natural that I should call to mind not only the stage productions I have seen but also those I have read about. The cuts and transpositions made by Olivier's textual editor reminded me of the fact that Shakespeare had required over 4000 lines to give full artistic expression to his concept of the tragic story, and that the first edition of the play seems to show that from the outset the acting versions had an abbreviated text with possibly some irregularities in the order of the scenes. As a matter of fact, Shakespeare must have known well enough that some 1500 lines would have to be slashed ruthlessly before his play could go into production. What and where to prune must have been a serious problem for the Lord Chamberlain's Men about 1601; certainly it has been for producers ever since.

How the text was altered in Shakespeare's lifetime remains a matter for speculation, but we are not entirely without grounds upon which to base conjecture. *Hamlet* has always been a popular play, and its acting traditions and stage business have been more faithfully preserved than those of any other play of its antiquity. According to John Downes, who prompted at the Duke's Theatre in 1662 and continued in this capacity at one house or an-

* Read in abbreviated form at the meeting of the Society at Princeton, N. J., June 4, 1949.

other for nearly fifty years, Thomas Betterton was a peerless Hamlet for upwards of half a century, having been trained in the interpretation of the rôle by Shakespeare's godson, Sir William Davenant. Furthermore, Davenant had learned from Taylor, who had carried on the tradition established in Shakespeare's lifetime by the great Richard Burbage. These are not exactly the words used by Downes in *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), but they convey his meaning, and they seem to tell us of an unbroken tradition of *Hamlet* performances from about 1601 to 1709.

Now since the stage business and the interpretation of the characters are intimately bound up in the stage version of the text, it would seem reasonable to assume that, if Downes was not misinformed, the Restoration *Hamlet* is in essence the Elizabethan *Hamlet*.

Fortunately we know a great deal about the Restoration *Hamlet*. Its text is preserved in the playhouse quartos of the period. All these derive ultimately from the last pre-Wars quarto of 1637, but they differ from it in many respects, for the publishers took the trouble to consult the prompter's book in the theatre and to indicate differences between the literary and the stage texts. All the Restoration quartos of *Hamlet*, beginning with that of 1676, contain the following address to the reader:

This Play being too long to be conveniently Acted, such places as might be least prejudicial to the Plot or Sense, are left out upon the Stage: but that we may no way wrong the incomparable Author, are here inserted according to the Original Copy with this Mark. “

But the differences between the Restoration stage versions and the literary text as represented by Q 1637 are not limited to the passages marked by a pair of inverted commas. Scores of minor modifications were made to conform to the prompt book.¹

The Restoration quartos demonstrate, as does the “Bad” first quarto of *Hamlet*, that what audiences wanted and what pro-

¹ See Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927), for a detailed account and analysis of the changes.

ducers gave them from Elizabeth's time to Garrick's, and even later, was action. As Don Marquis so acutely has the manager say in his poem, "Pete the Parrot and Shakespeare," "give them a good ghost . . . and not too much of your damned poetry." In the Restoration quartos, several hundred lines of "damned poetry" are marked for omission, two or three lines at a time. The twenty-odd major cuts, ranging from nine lines in length to eighty, and totaling nearly 600 lines, include such favorite passages as Horatio's account of the prodigies before Julius Caesar's death, Marcellus's legend of the cock crowing at Christmas, Claudius's reproaches of Hamlet for excessive grief, Laertes's reasons for thinking Hamlet a dangerous suitor to Ophelia, the maxims of Polonius and his reasons for breaking off the love affair between Ophelia and Hamlet, Hamlet's comments on drunkenness in Denmark and his apostrophe to the Ghost, much of the dialogue about Priam and of the Player's speech, Hamlet's self-reproaches that follow, his comments on the art of acting, and the portions of the Closet Scene that contain Hamlet's graphic instructions to his Mother about her future marital relations with Claudius. The omission of these and of the whole of the story of Fortinbras, save for his appearance after the death of Hamlet, not only speeds the action but reduces markedly the amplitude of the fable and simplifies the characters of Hamlet and Claudius. Gone are most of the lines in which Hamlet reproaches himself, and gone too are most of the speculations about the honesty of the Ghost. The spectator who saw a performance of this Restoration version would never question the valor of the Prince or suspect that he was tardy in driving to his revenge.

Modern audiences that have come to expect the golden lines, the arias of the play, and that tend to judge every actor by his rendition of the familiar soliloquies, would be shocked at their abridgement or omission. Yet there is good reason to believe that in Shakespeare's lifetime and for over a hundred years after his death, the *Hamlet* that was acted on the stage was close indeed

to what has lately been put on the silver screen. It is a meagre play in comparison with the God's plenty of the full *Hamlet* text, but it is still exciting entertainment.

These are the thoughts that brought to my memory the two earliest prompt books of *Hamlet* that are extant. A still earlier prompt book was once known, part of a copy of the Third Folio which was used in the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin as early as about 1680. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps broke up the Folio and had the plays bound separately, several of which have come to the Folger Shakespeare Library, but the *Hamlet* is untraceable.² Unless it can be found, the two earliest surviving prompt books are (1) a copy of the quarto of 1676 with the four-line imprint and (2) a copy of the 1683 quarto. The first was at my instigation purchased many years ago by the Friends of the Johns Hopkins Library and deposited in the Tudor and Stuart Club at the Hopkins; the other I found more recently in the Folger Library, to which it had come by way of Halliwell-Phillipps and Marsden J. Perry. These two books contain hitherto unknown information about how *Hamlet* was performed in England during a good part of the eighteenth century and may even throw light on the Restoration performances and ultimately on the Shakespearean *Hamlet* itself.

The two prompt books were prepared by and for the use of the same man, and it has been my good fortune to identify him. His handwriting occurs sporadically in a notebook containing the player's part of Gomez in Dryden's *Spanish Fryar*, a Heber-Dobell-Folger item. It is found, too, in a letter of 1748 addressed to the Reverend Joseph Greene, master of the free school in Stratford, and on several scraps bearing theatrical data, also procured by the Folger from Mr. Dobell. The writer's name is John Ward. He has not the prominence of an article in the *D.N.B.*; as a matter of fact, he is more famous in his grandchildren, Sarah Siddons and John Philip Kemble, than in his own

² See R. C. Bald, *Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin*, in: *PMLA* 56: 369 ff. (June, 1941).

right, and yet, as we shall see, he has a perpetual if modest claim on Shakespeareans.

A great deal of nonsense has been written about John Ward. It has been stated more than once, for example, that when young he acted with Thomas Betterton.³ This would be exciting, if true, for it would strengthen the probability that John Ward's *Hamlet*, as revealed in his prompt books, continued the Bettertonian (*i.e.*, Shakespeare-Davenant) tradition. But, as we shall discover from the inscription on Ward's gravestone, he died in 1773 at the age of 69. Now Betterton, who died in 1710, retired from the stage in the spring of 1709 when John Ward was an infant of five years, and the story that he acted with Betterton must be rejected with regret.

Ward's antecedents are doubtful. "In the irresponsible stage histories of his day," writes Mrs. Parsons (pp. 6-7), "he is termed an Irishman—for no reason the present investigator can discover beyond the facts that he once acted (with Miss Peg Woffington) at the Aungier Street Theatre, Dublin, and that his daughter was born at Clonmel. Actually, he and his family were well known locally as 'the Wards of Leominster,' at Leominster they were married and buried. . . . Close by his [Ward's] are the graves of his near relatives, Thomas and Humphrey Ward." Of the stories of John Ward's Irish origins I am as dubious as Mrs. Parsons. She is correct in her statements that he acted in Dublin and that his daughter Sarah was born in Clonmel. It remains for some future investigator to prove whether he was born and married in Leominster.

On one of the scraps of paper in Ward's handwriting in the collection known as Folger MS 6643 are the following notations:

³ Cf. Yvonne Ffrench, *Mrs. Siddons: Tragic Actress* (London, Cobden-Sanderson, 1936), p. 14: "John Ward, sometimes, though inaccurately, described as an Irishman, late of the Aungier Street theatre, had been Betterton's contemporary and a capable actor." Cf. also the more conservative statement of Mrs. Clement Parsons, *The Incomparable Siddons* (London, Methuen & Co., 1909), p. 6: "Ward, who had as a child, played under Betterton."

1733 Died Mr Charles Snell, an eminent
writing Master Jan^{ry} 9th — In Foster Lane —
of whom I learnt

1733 Feb^y 17th Died Mr Whadcock Surgeon in
Bread Street — who set my leg when broke

These entries suggest a youth spent in London, unless we are to assume that both Snell and Whadcock migrated from Leominster to London.⁴

A strong element of mystery is introduced by the history of the Kemble family penned apparently for John Payne Collier by Anne Kemble Curtis Hatton, sister of Mrs. Siddons, and better known as Anne of Swansea, the author of a great many bad romances. According to Anne,⁵ who was the black sheep of the family and whose statements may be tinged not only with malice but also with romantic imagination, the Kembles "had reason for believing" that John Ward was "the offspring of a man of high Rank by a distant relation of his own, who did not outlive the infancy of her child." This is a curious story, for the activities of the Wards and Kembles centered about Leominster for many years, and if John Ward were derived from a family that had long been in residence there, as Mrs. Parsons maintains, the truth should have been readily ascertainable.

Mrs. Hatton's account goes on to say that "the boy was raised 'liberally,' being at length placed in the army with a commission. Ward was sent to Cork and there married a milliner who 'without any extraordinary talent for the profession, had imbibed a strong desire to quit her humble occupation, and figure a heroine on the

⁴ It is tempting to assume that the leg was broken in boyhood, but of course Ward may have "learnt" of Snell before the latter established a London residence; and he may have broken his leg during the later years when he was a resident in London and Middlesex—see *infra*.

⁵ Her history is cited and quoted from by Herschel Baker, *John Philip Kemble; the Actor in His Theatre* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1942), *passim*, who discovered the MS in the Folger Library. I am limited to the data gleaned by Professor Baker, for the item has been mis-shelved since the Folger treasures returned from wartime storage and is not available for further study.

Stage.' By his marriage Ward lost his father's assistance; he was forced to sell his commission and assume 'the management of an itinerant company of comedians,' of which he shortly became the 'grand attraction and support.'"⁶

I cannot avoid the suspicion that Anne has combined fact from her grandfather Ward's career with tradition about her father Roger Kemble's origin and humble calling (hair dresser), and decorated everything with the trappings of Gothic romance.

We come to provable fact in 1723, when Ward at the age of 18 or 19 played the part of Hazeroth, a young lord, in the initial performance of Elijah Fenton's *Mariamne* on Friday, February 22, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. A general statement to this effect is made by several of the stage historians, as Genest (III: 121); it is corroborated by the printed cast in the first edition of the play and is given further confirmation by the Winston MS in the Folger Library. From this same MS I have discovered for the first time that Ward joined the company that season and that his first rôle was Ascanio in *The Spanish Curate* on Saturday, November 17, 1722. This play was repeated three times before the end of the season, and *Mariamne* was given a total of eighteen times, presumably with Ward in the cast each time. It may be significant that the play chosen to be given at the joint benefit of Ward, Chapman and Mackenzie was *Julius Caesar*. Ward's first Shakespearean rôle is not recorded.

Ward continued to act at Lincoln's Inn Fields throughout the seasons of 1723-1724, 1724-1725, and 1725-1726, appearing again in *Mariamne* and also in *Titus Andronicus*, *The Spanish Fryar*, *Henry IV*, *The Island Princess*, *The Royal Merchant*, *The Old Batchelor*, *The Beaux Stratagem*, *Love's Last Shift*, and *Hamlet*.

Equally interesting with these items is another entry by Winston, and likewise hitherto overlooked: a Mrs. Ward played in *The Country Wife* on Wednesday, October 5, 1725. Genest gives

⁶ Baker, p. 9.

the additional information that she played Mrs. Dainty Fidget and that the play was acted eight times. Curiously enough, Winston does not include Mrs. Ward in the list of actresses who were first employed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1725-1726; nor does her name appear in any of his earlier lists (Winston gives only surnames). I suspect, therefore, that she had been engaged by the company before her marriage to Ward, but although I know from other sources that her baptismal name was Sarah I am unable to discover her surname.⁷

After 1726 there is a gap in the records of the Wards for three years, but a document of 1746 to be cited later indicates that they maintained a London connection. They next appear in their first engagement at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, with Elrington's company, where on March 19, 1730, *Hamlet* was performed for Mrs. Ward's benefit.⁸ In their second season, 1730-1731, Ward and his wife played Gloster and Queen Elizabeth in *Richard III* for their benefit. "Sometime during the following month the Wards separated themselves from the S. A. company and set up an insurgent young troupe 'at the great Booth in Dames's Street.' Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* of May 2 advertises for May 5 a benefit performance of *The Double Dealer* ('never acted in this Kingdom') on behalf of the Wards.⁹ They seem to have taken their troupe on tour during the summer and are reported by the *Dublin Intelligencer* of September 22 as acting in

⁷ In the *Catalogue of Dramatic Portraits in the Theatre Collection of Harvard College Library*, pp. 232-233, Mrs. Hall suggests that her full name was Sarah Hoare Ward. I cannot verify the statement, but I am of the opinion that all of the engravings there listed depict an entirely different, and a younger, Mrs. Ward, who played for Garrick many years after Mrs. Sarah Ward left London (cf. *The Thespian Dictionary*, 2d ed., 1805, page 212). A possible exception is an engraving I have not seen of a Mrs. Ward with Frances Kemble Twiss as Hermione and Imogen in *The Winter's Tale*. I doubt that Sarah Ward's maiden name was Hoare.

⁸ For this and several other important details I am indebted to Professor W. S. Clark, who kindly gleaned them from the MSS relating to the Irish stage collected by the late W. J. Lawrence and now in the library of the University of Cincinnati.

⁹ Cf. Robert Hitchcock, *An Historical View of the Irish Stage* (Dublin, 1788), I: 53 ff., where it is said that the booth is in Fownes's-court, lately occupied by Madam Violante, and that a few months put a period to the insurrection.

Chester.”¹⁰ According to Augustin Daly,¹¹ Ward had some authority in the Smock Alley company after the death of Elrington in 1732—but whether in the old or the new theatre is not stated. The next recorded performance is on December 11, 1735, the opening night of the new Smock Alley Theatre, when the Wards played Don Carlos and Louisa in *Love Makes a Man*.¹²

Meanwhile, on September 2, 1735, at Clonmel, Mrs. Ward had given birth to a daughter, Sarah, the future wife of Roger Kemble and mother of Sarah Kemble Siddons.

In 1736-1737, the Wards became regular members of the Aungier Street company. “Ward played First Manager in *The Rival Theatres* . . . on January 10, 1737. He and his wife acted the same parts in *Richard III* as in 1731, at their benefit on February 10. Then, more importantly, on February 12 he was Hamlet to Peg Woffington’s Ophelia at a benefit for the Mercer’s Charitable Hospital. The Wards continued at A. S. in the following season. Mr. Ward’s benefit on March 16, 1738, is of considerable interest because ‘at the Lord Lieutenant’s Command’ *Measure for Measure* was given its first production on the Irish stage.¹³ Mrs. Ward had her benefit on April 27 with Lee’s *Lucius Junius Brutus*. There is no evidence to show that the Wards were at A. S. in 1738-1739, but they appeared again there for the 1739-1740 season. *King Lear* was acted on February 25, 1740, for Mrs. Ward’s benefit. Then her husband’s benefit on April 25 occasioned the famous première of Peg Woffington as Sir Harry Wildair in *The Constant Couple*.”¹⁴

This is a good point at which to bring together some of the careless and at times irresponsible statements that have been

¹⁰ Quoted from Professor Clark’s letter.

¹¹ *Woffington*, p. 14.

¹² Hitchcock, pp. 94 ff., and Chetwood, *General History of the Stage*, p. 74.

¹³ The revival of the play at Smock Alley about 1670-1680 had evidently been forgotten; cf. my forthcoming account in *M. L. R.* of several hitherto unknown Smock Alley prompt books.

¹⁴ Quoted from Professor Clark’s letter.

made about John Ward and Peg Woffington. Daly states that Ward was "an overbearing and peevish old gentleman," who over a trifle quarreled with the youthful Woffington. Fitzgerald adds that Peg played once for Ward's benefit, "but it was said that [his] roughness drove her from the theatre." Nina A. Kennard¹⁵ varies the story and contributes a new ingredient: "Peg Woffington, when only fifteen, played at [Ward's] theatre in Auniger [*sic*] Street, until Mr. Ward's strait-laced severity drove the wild young Irish girl away. The Wards seem, indeed, to have been almost Methodistical in their strict religious views." Miss Ffrench (p. 14; if she has other authority for her positive assertion, she does not cite it) seizes upon "almost Methodistical" and phrases her version as follows:

He was a Methodist and he applied his principles both in and out of school with regularity. In former years his harshness had caused the flight of Peg Woffington from the Dublin theatre which he managed and where, as a girl of sixteen, she had already begun to captivate her audiences. But unable to endure his rigid discipline she had been frightened away to pleasanter surroundings.

Thus legends grow.

A legend in a different vein is to the effect that it was not by Ward's roughness but by Love that Peg was erept the stage (to borrow the quaint phrase that Downes used to describe some of the equally fair and frail ladies of the Restoration stage), for if we may believe some of her biographers¹⁶ she eloped to London. There she is found on November 6, 1740, performing in *The Recruiting Officer* at Covent Garden.

After a quarrel with the management, Peg Woffington moved over to Drury Lane in May, 1741, and there, at the beginning of the following season, she was joined by John and Sarah Ward. This second London engagement of the Wards, recorded in the Winston MS at Folger, has also been previously overlooked by

¹⁵ *Mrs. Siddons* (Boston, Roberts Bros., 1887), p. 8.

¹⁶ The biographers differ, too, about Woffington's age. According to some, she was 15 or 16, but others are quite as positive that she was 25 or 26. Ward, who had been born in 1704, was only about 35 or 36 at the time.

stage historians. Ward played Laertes in *Hamlet* in his first appearance (on September 19, 1741). I do not find the Wards at Drury Lane after the season of 1742, but it may be noted by way of summary that Ward had now played in *Hamlet* at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Smock Alley, and Drury Lane, and that his future production of the play may be expected to combine and carry on the traditions of those three theatres.

Before detailing the later career of the Wards, we may pause a moment to contribute a final episode to the Woffington story. On April 5, 1746, according to the parish register of Oswestry, was baptised Margaret Woffington Ward, "d. of John & Sarah Ward, of the Comedian Band, of St. Austin parish, Mdx."¹⁷ This item not only gives us a happy ending to the story, as far as the Wards are concerned, but forecasts the future of the Wards. Apparently they had been unable or unwilling to meet the competition in the London theatres, and had decided to enjoy the independence and risk the hazards of the road.

The details that I shall next summarize are drawn partly from Mr. Cecil Price's article, "John Ward, Stroller" in *Theatre Notebook*, I: 10-12, and his book entitled *The English Theatre in Wales*,^{17a} and partly from hitherto unused abstracts, made at my request by Dr. William Van Lennep from the MS of Winston's "Theatric Tourist" in the Theatre Collection at Harvard. Dr. Van Lennep states that all the notes on Ward and his son-in-law, Roger Kemble, were copied by Winston from a MS (now lost?) called "Jones' Book," Jones having been a leading actor in Ward's company.

How, where, and when John Ward recruited his first English company of strolling players is not yet known. The Oswestry register quoted above refers to it as a going concern in the spring of 1746. From a letter of the Reverend Joseph Greene of Strat-

¹⁷ According to Baker, p. 9, the Wards returned to England some time in the 'forties with Sarah and two sons; the names of the two boys are as yet unknown to me.

^{17a} Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1948.

ford, we learn that Ward's company played there from May to September of 1746:

A Company of Strolling-Players (much y^e best Set I have seen out of London, & in which opinion I am far from being singular,) came here in May last, & continued wth a little intermission till September. . . . Ward, prevail'd with [Greene's] father Bartlett y^e present Mayor, to lend him our Spacious Town-hall, wherein to erect his Theatre for y^e term aforementioned; on y^e previous condition of depositing in his hands five guineas for y^e Use of y^e Poor of Stratford . . . [This sum was duly paid as proposed.] Y^e Actors met with much encouragement, even beyond what they themselves cou'd have expected.¹⁸

At that time the London theatres were active in raising funds to erect a monument of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey. And in Stratford the Reverend Mr. Greene was distressed by the public neglect of the memorial bust in Holy Trinity Church and perturbed at its sad state of disrepair. John Ward, who seems to have maintained a lively interest in the theatrical affairs of London¹⁹ and knew of the proposed Westminster monument, shared Greene's perturbation. He decided upon a course of action which Greene's letter describes as follows:

Mr Ward to express his Gratitude, voluntarily made another generous proposal of Acting a Play of Shakespeare, the Profits arising from which, he declar'd shou'd be Solely appropriated . . . to the repairing y^e Original Monument of y^e Poet; very genteely refusing to apply a Shilling of the Money to his Own Use: Printed Bills were therefore given out for this Purpose; and on y^e Ninth of this instant Sept^r, about 16 or 17 pounds were receiv'd from y^e Spectators of y^e Play of Othello then Acted in y^e Town-hall, y^e Characters of which play, (except that of Brabantio,) were well personated, & the whole Conducted with much decorum, & its Consequence, Applause.

Mr. Greene honored the performance by contributing a Prologue,

Spoken by y^e ingenious M^r Ward; who enter'd fully into my Sentiments, & ex-

¹⁸ I quote from the original, collected by Halliwell-Phillipps, in the Folger Library. It is addressed to Greene's brother Richard, an apothecary in Litchfield, and is now used, I think, for the first time.

¹⁹ See the items in Folger MS 6643, among which are Ward's transcripts of famous London prologues and epilogues, of epitaphs of actors and actresses, and also of news items relating to litigation with respect to some of the London houses.

Hamlet Prince of Denmark.

51

O my offence is rank, it smells to heaven,
 It hath the eldest curse upon't ;
 A brothers murder : pray I cannot,
 Though inclination be as sharp as will,
 My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent ;
 And like a man to double business bound,
 I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
 And both neglect : what if this curled hand
 Were thicker than it self with brothers blood ?
 Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
 To wash it white as snow ? whereto serves mercy,
 But to confront the visage of offence ?
 And what's in prayer, but this twofold force,
 To be forestalled e're we come to fall,
 Or pardon'd being down ? then I'll look up :
 My fault is past : but oh ! what form of prayer
 Can serve my turn ? forgive me my foul murthers ?
 That cannot be, since I am still possess'd
 Of those effects for which I did the murther,
 My Crown, mine own ambition, and my Queen :
 May one be pardoned and retain th' offence ?
 " In the corrupted currents of this world
 " Offences guided hand may shew by justice,
 And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize it self
 Buys out the Law ; but 'tis not so above,
 There is no shuffling, there the action lies
 In his true nature, and we ourselves compell'd
 Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults
 To give in evidence : what then ? what rests ?
 Try what repentance can ; what can it not ?
 Yet what can it when one cannot repent ?
 O wretched state ! O bosom black as death !
 O limed soul ! that struggling to be free,
 Art more engaged ! help Angels, make assay,
 Bow stubborn knees, and heart with strings of steel
 Be soft as sinews of the new-born babe,
 All may be well.

[Enter Hamlet.

Ham. Where is this murderer ? he kneels and prays,
 And now I'll do't,—and so he goes to heaven,—
 And so am I reveng'd ? that would be scann'd ;
 He kill'd my father ; and for that,
 I his sole son, send him
 To heaven ; —
 Why this is reward, &c. not revenge :

H 2

(17)

? Queen

1 Polonius

2 Clavon

He

The Tragedy of

He took my father grossly, full of bread,
 With all his crimes broad blown as flush as May,
 And how his audit stands, who knows save heaven?
 But in our circumstance and course of thought,
 'Tis heavy with him; and am I then reveng'd,
 To take him in the purging of his soul,
 When he is fit and seasoned for his passage?

No,

Up sword, and know thou a more horrid time;
 When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage,
 Or in th' incestuous pleasures of his bed,
 As game, or swearing, or about some act
 That has no relish of salvation in t;

"Then trip him that his heels may kick at heaven;

"And that his soul may be as damn'd and black.

"As hell whereto it goes:." my mother stays,

This Physick but prolongs thy sickly days.

[Exit.

King. My words flye up, my thoughts remain below,
 Words without thoughts never to heaven go.

Enter Queen and Polonius. [Two Chairs on Below

Pol. He will come strait, look you lay home to him,
 Tell him his pranks have been too broad to bear with,
 And that your grace hath stood between
 Much heat and him. I'll here conceal my self,
 Pray you be round.

[Exit.
 4 long traps

[Enter Hamlet.

Qu. I'll warrant you, fear me not;
 Withdraw, I hear him coming. [Polonius retires behind the arras

Ham. Now, mother, what's the matter?

Qu. Hamlet thou hast thy father much offended.

Ham. Mother, you have my father much offended.

Qu. Come, come, you answer with an idle tongue.

Ham. Go, go, you question with a wicked tongue.

Qu. Why how now Hamlet?

Ham. What's the matter now?

Qu. Have you forgot me?

Ham. Noby the Rood not so,
 You are the Queen, your husbands brothers wife,
 And would I were not for you are my mother:.

Qu. Nay then I'll set those to you that can speak;

Ham. Come, come, and sit down, you shall not budge.
 You go not, till I set you up a glass.

Where you may see the utmost part of you.

Qu. What wilt thou do? thou wilt not murder me?

Ham. No.

Enter Polonius

Pol. What

Hamlet Prince of Denmark.

33

Pol. What hoe help.

Ham. How, now, a Rat, ² dead for a Ducket, dead.

Pol. O I am slain. 2 Deep

Qu. O me, what hast thou done ?

Ham. Nay I know not; is it the King ?

Qu. O what a rash and bloody deed is this !

Ham. A bloody deed; almost as bad, good mother,
As kill a King, and marry with his brother.

Qu. As kill a King.

Ham. I Lady, ~~it~~ was my word.

Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell,

I took thee for thy better; take thy fortune;

Thou find'st to be too bulie is some danger.

Leave wringing of your hands; peace, sit you down,

And let me wring your heart; for so I shall,

If it be made of penetrable stuff;

~~"If damned custom have not braz'd it so,~~

~~"That it be proof and bulwark against sense."~~

Qu. What have I done that thou dar'st wag thy tongue
In noise so rude against me ?

Ham. Such an act,

That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;

Calls vertue hypocrite; takes off the Rose

From the fair forehead of an innocent love,

And sets a blister there; makes marriage vows

As false as Dicars oaths : oh such a deed

As from the body of contraction plucks

The very soul, and sweet Religion makes

A rapfody of words, "Heavens face does glow

"Yea this solidity and compound mass

"With heated visage as against the doom,

"Is thought-sick at the act.

Ah me that act

Qu. Ay me, what act?

Ham. ~~That roars so loud, and thunders in the Index :~~

Look here upon this picture, and on this,

The counterfeit presentment of two brothers ;

See what a grace was seated on this brow;

Hiperions curls; the front of *Jove* himself;

An eye like *Mars*, to threaten ~~and~~ command;

~~"A station like the Herald Mercury~~

~~"New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill,~~

A combination and form indeed,

Where every god did seem to set his seal,

H 13

To

(20)

1 Ghost
1 Ready at
1 Long trap

1746.

As the generous-proposals of the Proprietors of the two greatest Play-Houses in this Kingdom, were kindly accepted and encourag'd, in relation to each of them Acting a PLAY, for the Sole purpose of erecting a New Monument to the Memory of SHAKESPEARE, in *Westminster-Alley*: And as the Curious Original Monument and Bust of that incomparable Poet, erected above the Tomb that enshrouds his Dust, in the Church of *Stratford upon Avon Warwickshire*, Is through length of Years and other accidents become much impair'd and decay'd; An offer has been kindly made by the Judicious and much Esteem'd Mr. JOHN WARD, and his Company, To Act one of SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS. *Viz.*

Othello, or the Moor of Venice.

in the Town-Hall

1746.

At Stratford, on Tuesday the Ninth of this instant September: The Receipts arising from which Representation are to be Solely Appropriated to the Repairing the Original Monument aforesaid.

The part of Othello, to be perform'd by Mr WARD.

See an Explanation of the Beauties of this play in the Guardian. Vol. y. p. 37.

Jago,	} by	Mr. Elrington, a young man, act well
Cassio,		Mr. Redman, a middle-aged man, too inflexible in action.
Brabantio,		Mr. Woodward, an elderly man. some things well, others not so well.
Montano,		Mr. Butler, - an old man. some parts pretty well.
Roderigo,		Mr. Butcher, a young man. low humour pretty well.
Gratiano,	} by	Mr. Bourne, an elderly man. low humour very well.
Doge of Venice		
Desdemona,	} by	Mrs. Elrington, a 2 ^d wife but young, a very good actress.
Emilia,		Mrs. Ward, a middle-aged Woman, an actress.

With several Entertainments of SINGING, between the ACTS. by Mrs. Elrington. and Mrs. Wilton.

To begin punctually at 6 o'Clock. Pit, 2 s. 6 d. Gallery, 1 s.

Mr. Elrington's voice rather more agreeable than Mrs. Wilton's, but Mrs. Wilton is more judicious at music.

Mr. Wilton since married to Mr. Butcher, plays very well & probably as good an actor.

It is therefore humbly wish'd, that such Persons as have a taste for the Inimitable Thoughts, the Sublime Expressions, the Natural and lively Descriptions and Characters of that Great Genius, and Consequently a Value for his Memory, will Encourage the propos'd method of perpetuating it, by attending the PLAY, at that juncture, for the laudable purpose of re-beautifying his Venerable Monument and Effigies.

N. B. The Money receiv'd on this Occasion, is to be Deposited in the Hands of the Church-Wardens.

press'd every Sentence as I cou'd wish, wth y^e justest Emphasis & most exact propriety, notwithstanding he had had the Composition but a very Short time in his Possession.

This from a schoolmaster is praise indeed. Obviously John Ward was as competent and willing as the First Player in *Hamlet* to study for a need a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines. The autograph copy of Greene's 45-line Prologue—"Which, pardon me, I do not mean to [reprint]"—is another item collected by Halliwell-Phillipps and now in the Folger Library, along with Greene's annotated copy of the play bill—one of two extant copies.²⁰ In justice to Ward it should be stated that he had nothing to do with the selection of the artist who restored the monument—or with the squabbles in Stratford about the administration of the fund. In fact, when Greene wrote him two years later about the state of affairs, Ward replied as follows from Hereford on December 3, 1748 (Folger MS, cs. 448):

I Rec'd the favour of yours, and am sensible of the honor you and the Gentlemen do me in appealing to my Iudgment with regard to the monument of Shakespeare; I am ignorant of any disputes that may have happen'd on the Acct, but own I was surpriz'd when I heard nothing had been done in the affair—I entirely submit to the opinions of the Gentlemen, who so generously contributed to the play, in every respect; and as I intend paying a visit to Stratford, next summer, hope to have the pleasure of seeing the monum^t of our Immortal Bard, compleatly finish'd; and will readily come into any proposal to make good the sum for the use intended, if what is already in the Church warden's hands, should prove deficient.

²⁰ The play bill is particularly valuable for naming nine members of Ward's company at this early date. The cast is as follows:

Othello	Mr. Ward	Roderigo	Mr. Butcher
Jago	Mr. Elrington	Gratiano	Mr. Bourne
Cassio	Mr. Redman	Desdemona	Mrs. Elrington
Brabantio	Mr. Woodward	Emilia	Mrs. Ward
Montano	Mr. Butler		

With several Entertainments of Singing, between the Acts,
by Mrs. Elrington and Mrs. Wilson

Greene's comments on their abilities are likewise valuable. Woodward is possibly the actor who was at L.I.F. with Ward in the early 'Twenties, and Elrington I take to be a relative of the erstwhile manager at Smock Alley.

Ward's conduct was generous and disinterested throughout, and though harsh words were written then and later about the manner in which the bust was restored, Ward is free from responsibility for such errors as may have been committed.²¹

In April, 1747, Ward's company appeared in Ludlow, where they played in the Guild Hall during the races and the subsequent five weeks, presenting *Henry VIII*, for example, with new robes, armor and decorations.

In December of the following year, he was as we have seen at Hereford, where performances were given at the Swan and Falcon at 6 P.M. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

The company was back in Ludlow in August, 1751. It seems also to have performed at Birmingham, for William Hutton²² records that "in 1751 a company arrived who announced themselves as 'His Majesty's Servants' from the Theatres Royal in London." That this was Ward's company is rendered probable by the fact that it is known to have played there the following year, 1752. In March, Ward gave *Henry VIII* at Ledbury, intending to go on to Bromyard and thence to Leominster on Easter Monday. For theatrical history, however, the engagement at Birmingham overshadows everything else in 1752, because it was at this time that John Ward placed the advertisement in the London papers for "capital performers"²³ that lured Roger Kemble thither. In a short time Kemble's innamorata, Fanny Funnivall, was forgotten and he was paying court to Sarah, his manager's daughter and "the 'main prop' of her father's troop in the 'comic province.'" Though Sarah could not have been more than

²¹ *The Victoria History of Warwickshire* (London, For the University of London Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, 1945), III: 245, errs in calling the actor *James Ward*. It refers to Saunders MSS 96, fol 906, and adds that Roger Kemble's company played at Stratford between 1761 and 1782, both at the Town Hall and at "the Theatre," the location of the latter being unknown.

²² *History of Birmingham* (1781), quoted in a memorandum by Mr. D. M. Norris of the Birmingham Public Library, which was written for me at the behest of F. J. Patrick, Esq., City Librarian.

²³ Baker, pp. 7 ff.

seventeen, the two eloped in 1753 and were married at Cirencester on June 6—"Roger Kemble of Hereford & Sarah Ward of Gloucester."^{23a} The bride must have been as beautiful as she was headstrong, for according to Baker's sources (p. 10), there had already been "a young nobleman who loved her 'not wisely but unhappily too well' for . . . it is said . . . that he died for the love of Sarah Ward."

This elopement has provided the biographers of Mrs. Siddons with another occasion for letting the imagination run riot at the expense of John Ward's reputation. When Roger asked permission to marry Sarah, writes Miss Ffrench, the parents objected, for "knowing their professional world, [they] had other views for their Sally. An actor's existence was the last into which they wished her to drift." After the marriage,

John Ward wriggled out of his defeat with as much dignity as he could command and a side-thrust at his new son-in-law's professional competence. He resorted to casuistry hardly in accordance with Methodistical tenets: "I forbade you," he remarked to his daughter, "to marry an actor. You have not disobeyed me since the man you have married neither is nor ever can be an actor." Having evaded this matrimonial issue, the Wards magnanimously presented the young couple with their theatrical company and so pass out of the story.

Anne Hatton, writing of the emotions of the Wards, tells of the

tempest of rage this dereliction of duty on the part of their daughter, a girl not yet sixteen, raised in their hearts—a hurricane not at all appeased by the conviction, that Roger Kemble's person was his only recommendation, it was obvious to them he had no talent for the Stage his education had been circumscribed, he had a good understanding but no genius.²⁴

Baker carries on the story, apparently from Mrs. Hatton:

The truants were soon back in Ward's company—the wrath had subsided—and before long the old people retired to Leominster in Herefordshire, after a hectic

^{23a} The page of the parish register containing the entry is reproduced opposite p. 71 of Theodore Hannam-Clark's *Drama in Gloucestershire* (London, Simpkin Marshall, 1928).

²⁴ Quoted by Baker, p. 10. According to Anne Hatton, Roger's wife thought him the "only *gentleman* Falstaff" she had ever seen.

life, living peacefully enough on an annuity from their son-in-law for the use of their theatrical properties and wardrobes.

But we shall see that the young couple did not come at once into ownership of the company—according to report they were so little affluent that Roger was his wife's only attendant when their daughter Sarah was ushered into the world on July 5, 1755—and that "the old people" continued their strolling for another thirteen years before reluctantly turning the management over to Roger and Sarah Kemble.

An idea of the repertory of Ward's company and the elaborateness of their productions can be gained from their announced offerings at Hereford in 1753. On February 6 they presented *Romeo and Juliet* with the "Grand Funeral Procession and Solemn Dirge set to Music by Signor Pasqualli." And their programs were a judicious combination of the classics and the spectacular attractions, with pantomime, music and dancing, so popular at the time in London. Shakespeare, Dryden, Rowe, Lee, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Steele were their authors, and *Harlequin Ranger*, and its like, with new scenery and machinery dazzled those whose minds were less sober. Ward knew how to take advantage of popular interest in public events, as when at the end of a performance of *Lear* he recited Milton's lines on Shakespeare and appeared as the statue of Shakespeare recently erected in Westminster Abbey.

In October, 1754, the company was at Ledbury, from which it moved to Hereford for a three months' stay. In May, 1755, it opened at Brecon, from which it moved to the new Welsh spa, Llandrindod, for race week, in early July. Little has been discovered about 1756 beyond the fact that a performance of Lee's *Theodosius* was given.

From Winston's transcript of "Jones' Book," cited above, we learn that "in November 1757 Ward set up a sharing company to act 4 nights a week—on a circuit, beginning at Shrewsbury. On December 24, 1757, Roger Kemble joined the company at

Leominster." During the following year, 1758, the company made its circuit of Brecon, Hay, Presteigne (4 weeks), Newtown, and Ludlow (23 weeks). In 1759 it opened in Coventry in January for a stay of 22 weeks (with Mr. and Mrs. Stanton in the Company, and also Bensley and Robertson), moving to Stratford in July for 5 weeks, thence to Shrewsbury for another 5 weeks, from there to Leominster, and then on to Brecon in November for 20 weeks.

The 1760 season began with performances at Brecon and continued with 5 weeks at The Hay and 9 weeks at Newtown, then 3 weeks at Stratford, where they played at the Races morning and night; in August Ward was back at Stratford for 6 weeks. There is not much variation in the records for 1761:²⁵ Leominster for 15 weeks, beginning on March 19; Solehiell [?] for 4 weeks; Abergavenny for 10 weeks, beginning in July; Ross for 3 weeks, beginning in October; and Hereford for 13 weeks, to close the season.

In 1762 the season appears to have opened at Worcester on February 18, for a run of 20 weeks; the year closed with a stay of 7 weeks at Stratford. I find notes on a visit to Kidderminster of 17 weeks in February and one of 18 weeks in Stourbridge in July, 1763. At this place on September 9, "Money Box stole from Door—man committed to Gaol—M^r and M^{rs} Robson in comp^y—Sally Kemble Ben^t with M^r Robson."²⁶ In October the company moved to Worcester for a stay of 33 weeks.

For 1764 there are records of 17 weeks spent at Brecon, beginning in August, and 25 weeks at Hereford, beginning in December.²⁷ Apparently the company was so popular and prosperous that it was no longer necessary, as in the early years, to take to the road every week or two.

²⁵ Price, *English Theatre*, pp. 41-42, says that the Kembles split away in 1761 and did not return until 1763. Roger Kemble was not in the cast of *The Beggar's Opera* at Leominster in April.

²⁶ Transcribed by Dr. Van Lennep from Winston's MS at Harvard.

²⁷ Mr. Norris writes that there are advertisements of an unnamed company in 1764-1765 in Aris's *Birmingham Gazette* and in the *Birmingham Weekly*.

The earliest engagement I find in 1765 is in June at Ludlow, where Ward remained for 11 weeks. He opened in September in Worcester, but playing there was stopped on October 3 by the new mayor, Mr. Withers, and Ward moved on at once to Leominster for a stay of 18 weeks.

In the spring of 1766, after some twenty-five years of strolling in Hereford, Warwickshire, Gloucester, Shropshire, Radnor, Monmouthshire, and Brecknock, John Ward decided to retire. His well-regulated company had entertained the nobility and gentry with a judicious mixture of serious drama and spectacle and had prospered. He offered the management first to Jones, and when he declined, to his son-in-law, Roger Kemble, whom he disliked. And so on May 24 Kemble took over the company. John Ward was 62 or 63 years old, and Sarah was 55. Whether they retired on a pension, I am unable to say. Ward seems to have turned his attention to collecting materials for a stage history, if we may judge by the memoranda of theatrical interest that he recorded in 1767 and 1768 (among Folger MSS 6643). The next and final record is found on a gravestone in Leominster:

Here waiting for the Savior's great Assize,
And hoping thro' his merits there to rise
In glorious mode in this dark closet lies
John Ward, Gent.

Who died Oct. 30, 1773, aged 69.
Also Sarah his wife, who died Jan. 30, 1786,
aged 75 years.

John did not live to see his granddaughter, the divine Siddons, at the height of her fame, but that pleasure was accorded Sarah. It would probably give them both quiet satisfaction to read the verdict of posterity as phrased by Joseph Knight in his *D.N.B.* article about Roger Kemble: John Ward was "a noteworthy man and an actor of some merit, from whom, rather than from Kemble, it is probable that what was remarkable in the Kemble strain was derived."^{27a}

^{27a} A portrait of "— Ward . . . the grandfather of Mr. Kemble [and] Mrs.

II

And now what about Ward's *Hamlet*, as revealed in his two prompt books? Unfortunately Ward does not name the cast in either book or give any dates, but the handwriting in them is so much firmer than in the memoranda which he wrote about 1768 that it is safe to assign early dates to the prompt books—I hazard the guess that they were prepared shortly after 1740. Early dates are confirmed by the manner in which the prompt books are prepared. They are much more closely akin to the prompt books of the seventeenth century than to those of the eighteenth century. Thus the entrances are written in the outside margins some 30 to 40 lines before the point of entrance. This method of writing warning entries had been employed on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stages, but it fell gradually into disuse, so that by 1700 one rarely finds an example from the London theatres. Opposite the text where a character is supposed to come on stage is a horizontal line crossed by from four to six vertical strokes.²⁸ These entrances are numbered, with a new series for each act. There is only one of the O.P.'s and P.S.'s that are sprinkled throughout eighteenth-century prompt books. It occurs in the form of "Enter Hamlet. M:D:O:P." late in Act II in the quarto of 1676, and I am confident that the letters M.D.O.P. are additions in a later hand.²⁹

All such properties as were used in the performance are also noted in the margins. Thus in Q 1676 the third warning entrance in Act II reads: "Polonius. A Letter w[^rit]." The fourth,

Siddons" was No. 255 in the *Catalogue raisonnée of Mr. Matheuw's gallery of theatrical portraits now exhibited for the first time, and forming a nearly complete dramatic record from the year 1659 down to the present time. Queen's Bazaar, Oxford Street* (London, W. Clowes, 1833), but I have not yet discovered who is its present owner.

²⁸ Bald notes the occurrence of this mark in some of the Smock Alley prompt books abstracted from a Third Folio of Shakespeare.

²⁹ The ink is paler than that used elsewhere; and though the "M" is not dissimilar to Ward's, the "P" is unlike the first letter in "Polonius" as Ward writes the word.

in the same act: "Hamlet. a book." Sound effects are likewise noted in the margins. The fifth stage direction in Act I of Q 1676 is "One to crow," and some thirty lines later the printed direction, "The Cock crows" is emphasized by a large X. With one exception, Act IV in Q 1676, there is a direction, "Ring," before the end of each act. The warning is intended for the musicians to play between the acts, for in Q 1683 the note near the end of Act I is "Ring for Musick."

A careful comparison of the two books reveals that they were prepared to regulate somewhat similar but not identical performances. The stages on which the productions were to be given were probably alike in essentials, with two or more trap doors and an inner stage. There is no indication that there was a front curtain or an upper stage, and I suspect that for most performances Ward had the equivalent of a pre-Wars platform stage, little influenced by the architecture of the pretentious London theatres. The locus of action is stated once in each book. In Q 1683 Ward has inserted at the head of Act I the words, "a platform," which is of course amply warranted by the text. The corresponding notation in the other book is "Town." Perhaps we may infer that Ward used from time to time painted backdrops in imitation of the Perspectives that came into fashion on the Restoration stage. Once in each book occurs the circle with a dot which means, "Blow whistle for change of scene."³⁰ In Q 1676 it stands opposite the long preparatory stage direction for the first court scene; in Q 1683, it is opposite the direction for the second scene on the Platform, where Hamlet meets the Ghost. There is no indication, unfortunately, of how the scene was to be changed.

There is a curious difference between the two books in the

³⁰ W. J. Lawrence and Montague Summers (see the latter's *Essays in Petto*, London, Fortune Press, 1928, pp. 103-110) are of the opinion that the symbol has this meaning, but Bald doubts that it always does in the Smock Alley prompt books. The mark on page 5 of Q 1676 is in fainter ink than that used in the other directions. May it be a late addition?

staging of court scenes. While Q 1683 provides specifically that the Court shall be "Discover'd" at I. ii, there is no such notation in Q 1676. But in the Mouse Trap Scene and again in the scene of the Fencing Match Q 1683 is silent, whereas Q 1676 specifies that the Court shall be "discover'd." In I. ii the stage is empty, and the device of discovering the court by opening the curtain to the inner stage is employed to facilitate the placing of cumbersome properties on a stage that has no front curtain. In both the later scenes, Hamlet and Horatio are in conversation on the front stage, so that each time the curtain to the inner stage must be drawn to reveal the King and Queen and their attendants. The management of these three scenes at this late date should affect decisively the controversy whether thrones of state were kept as standing properties against the back wall of the main stage in Elizabethan times. Clearly the practice was to seat courts in the inner stage.

In the production represented by Q 1676, Ward introduces a piece of business in the Closet Scene that, I am happy to say, is not called for in Q 1683. It will be remembered that Polonius has concealed himself so that he may overhear the Queen's reproof of Hamlet—Ward's notation is, "Polonius retires behind the arras." At the point where Gertrude cries out to Hamlet, "What wilt thou do? thou wilt not murder me? Help ho," Ward inserts the direction, "Enter Polonius." This is all wrong. For Polonius to be seen even momentarily before the Prince runs his victim through is to destroy the dramatic value of Hamlet's, "Nay I know not; is it the King?" when for one glorious moment he believes that his vengeance is complete and that Claudius has been slain in the midst of an action "that has no relish of salvation in it."

One major difference introduced by Ward is the omission of the Dumb Show. It had been retained by Davenant and Betterton—and, curiously enough Olivier retains it, while cancelling the Mouse Trap Play itself.

Another major difference is in the treatment of the conclusion of the final scene of the play, where Ward is more drastic even than Davenant. It will be remembered that earlier in the play both had eliminated the passages about Norway and young Fortinbras, and also the discussion between Hamlet and the Captain who is taking him captive to England about the sharked-up troop of lawless resolute who are following Fortinbras in his hare-brained enterprise. Davenant, being of the old school, brings on Prince Fortinbras in the final scene so that Hamlet may prophesy his choice as the next King of Denmark and so that a person of royal blood may be on hand to continue orderly government. Unmoved by these considerations, Ward eliminates Fortinbras from this scene, too, and rearranges the lines so that after Horatio's "Good night, sweet prince, And Choirs of Angels sing thee to thy rest," he may end the play with what had been Fortinbras's final couplet:

Take up the bodies; such a sight as this
Becomes the Field, but here shows much amiss.

It would be interesting to discover how Sir Laurence Olivier and his textual editor, Alan Dent, hit upon precisely this arrangement.

Ward's versions are two or three hundred lines shorter than the Restoration *Hamlet*. On rare occasions he modernizes a word or debases a line, but surprisingly enough he restores many words and some phrases in both quartos that he could have found only in Q 2 of 1604/1605 or one of the early Folios, unless indeed he took the trouble to consult one of the eighteenth-century literary texts. As a matter of fact, Ward must have done one of these three things in the preparation of Q 1676, for time and again he restores words, phrases and whole lines, changes the word order, and alters the punctuation to recapture the genuine Shakespearean text. It is amazing that an actor should have had such regard for the purity of text of his favorite dramatist. Thus quarto's

"She used to hang on him" is restored to "Why she would hang on him." Again, "Wee'l teach you here to drink" is corrected to "Wee'l teach you to drink deep." At one place there are two stages of correction: Q prints, "But what make you from Wittenberg?"; the metrical deficiency is first supplied by the addition in manuscript of "Horatio"; and then the speech is restored to the pristine, "But what in faith make you from Wittenberg?" And when Hamlet is mocking Polonius at the entrance of the traveling actors, Ward inserts from an outside source two whole speeches about Jephtha and his daughter. These corrections do not affect the business of the play, and Ward could have made them only because at some time he had memorized the authentic lines or because a sensitive ear and a tender literary conscience moved him to restore Shakespeare's text.

The two prompt books of *Hamlet*, then, carry on the early tradition of *Hamlet* for nearly three-quarters of a century and show surprising likenesses to certain modern productions. They disclose that John Ward was in many respects a greater purist than even David Garrick, the great Restorer of Shakespeare. No liberty he took with the text was so great as Garrick's practical elimination of the fifth act of the play.

III

Ward's prompt books provide information about the method of staging three scenes in the play that have been the subject of a great deal of argument. The first two are I. i, in which the Ghost appears to Horatio, and I. iv, where it is first seen by Hamlet; the third, the Closet Scene, in which the Ghost makes its last appearance and Hamlet compares the portraits of his father and his uncle. The problem of the Ghost is the same in the three scenes: how to get it on and off the stage. W. J. Lawrence is categorical in his statement that in the original production the Ghost entered and disappeared through a trap in I. i and I. iv.³¹

³¹ *The Staging of Hamlet*, in: William John Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 102-121.

In his reconstruction of the business in I. i he has Horatio, Marcellus and Bernardo seat themselves on stools near the front of the stage (from which position "they cannot perceive the three entrance ways which are situated behind them"); then, "on the clock striking one," the appearance of the Ghost interrupts the narrative. "It is obvious," he continues, "that there was absolutely no other way by which the Ghost could suddenly make itself visible to the three save by emerging *in front of them* through a trap" [italics mine].

This would indeed be a spectacular effect, but I am persuaded that what happened at the Globe was even more electrifying. Bernardo, telling how "last night of all, When yond same Star . . . Had made his course to enlighten that part of Heaven Where now it burns," points his finger towards the zenith. Horatio and Marcellus follow his gesture, and every eye in the theatre turns upward. At that instant, in my opinion, "the Bell then beating one" to signal the actor beneath the stage, the Ghost should rise through a trap at the rear of the stage and move quietly forward. The thrill that would go through the audience from the first appearance of the specter until it comes into the range of vision of Marcellus must have sent shivers up and down the spine.

Offended by Horatio's challenge, the Ghost then "stalks away," only to reappear in the same manner through the trap after the three watchers have resumed their seats. At the cock's crow, the Ghost moves as to depart. Marcellus, trying to stay it, swings his partisan, which the Ghost avoids by dropping unharmed through a trap door—to the delight of the groundlings. As the three men rush to where it was last seen, the Ghost rises through another trap. They rush at it, as Horatio cries, "'Tis here," only to have it vanish again through a trap. And after searching frantically, Marcellus concludes, "'Tis gone."

This is what I believe happened in the Elizabethan perform-

ances of *Hamlet* I. i. In I. iv, too, I think the Ghost entered and departed through a trap. But I am forced to admit that my reconstruction of the stage business is conjectural.

If the Smock Alley prompt book of *Hamlet* could be recovered, we might discover how the business was managed in the Restoration period. The prompt books of John Ward continue the story in the next century and provide detailed information about several of the points in question but are tantalizingly silent about others. There are, for example, no manuscript directions to show how the Ghost enters or exits in I. i. In I. iv, the Ghost enters nine lines after the offstage "Flourish of Trumpets and Guns" that signal the King's carouse. There is nothing to indicate that the Ghost rises from below the stage, but it may be noted that if a trap were used, the sound effect could easily take the place of a marginal stage direction, since the actors and the necessary stage hands could easily be in readiness together beneath the stage awaiting their cue. It is dangerous, however, to argue from silence, and I cannot insist that in this scene the Ghost used a trap to enter.

There can be no question of how the Ghost made his final departure in I. iv. Just as he is saying, "methinks I scent the morning air," Ward has written, "Ring for Trap to be Ready" (Q 1683); and opposite the Ghost's line, "Farewel, remember me," is the manuscript direction, "Sink" (Qq. 1676, 1683). This corresponds exactly with Lawrence's conjecture (p. 110). Almost at once comes the prompt note, "Ghost Ready below" (Q 1683; in Q 1676, "Ghost under the stage"). And when Hamlet is enjoining his friends to secrecy, three times Ward has written, "Ring," and each time the Ghost in the cellarage cries, "Swear" (Q 1683). In Ward's touring company about the middle of the eighteenth century, then, the stage business of the Ghost in one scene is very much as I conjecture it to have been nearly a century and a half earlier.

In the Closet Scene, "I am open to conviction," writes Profes-

sor Sprague, "as to how the Ghost should enter." He adds that since the Ghost does not wear full armor but presents a changed appearance, being "in his habit as he liv'd," Lawrence thinks the trap door should be used.³² This conjecture is supported by the fact that in Ward's production the warning entry reads, "Ghost Ready at long trap" (Q 1676; in Q 1683, "Ghost at great Trap"). This is followed in Q 1683 by a second direction, "Ring Ghost up." There is no room for uncertainty about the manner of entrance; nor is there about the Ghost's departure, for where Ward's printed text reads, "look how it steals away," he has changed the word to "stalks" in both quartos (*cf.* I. i, "See, it stalks away").

The really controversial piece of stage business in this scene is, however, the problem of the pictures. Lawrence accepts the suggestion of R. W. Lowe³³ and argues that the famous engraving in Rowe's edition of 1709 depicts the current stage usage, citing *Bestrafte Brudermord* and Q 1 in support of the practice of having two large portraits hanging on the walls of the stage.³⁴ This hypothesis has been attacked vigorously by Hazelton Spencer, who examined all the illustrations in Rowe's edition and found serious discrepancies in several.³⁵ There are, he reminds us, a number of solutions:

³² Arthur Colby Sprague, *Shakespeare and the Actors* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944), p. 164. Lawrence, p. 111, who buttresses his argument by citing Q 1 and *Bestrafte Brudermord*, in which the Prince locks all the doors.

³³ *How the Old Actors dressed "Shakespeare"—II*, in: *The Illustrated London News* (Feb. 18, 1893).

³⁴ Lawrence admits that the use of two half-length portraits from the period of the Restoration may not have been "precisely the original method." He adds that Rowe's illustration is defective in that it fails to show the curtains that habitually covered oil paintings in Elizabethan times.

³⁵ *How Shakespeare Staged his Plays*, in: *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, XX: 205-221 (March, 1932). Spencer was anticipated at several points by letters in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Miss Edith E. McCarthy objected (Aug. 30, 1928, p. 617) that portraits could not be conveniently hung on the rear walls of the stage, for Polonius has to hide behind the arras, *i.e.*, the curtain of the inner stage. To this Lawrence replied (Sept. 6, p. 632) impatiently that his meaning had been mistaken: the action occurred on the front stage and the portraits hung "on the back part of the scene." William Poel, listing four different solutions to the

Should there be two portraits on the wall; or should there be two miniatures, one hanging from the Queen's neck and the other from Hamlet's; or should Hamlet take two miniatures from his pocket; or should there be one wall portrait and one miniature; or should the pictures be located in a supposed gallery off stage, invisible to the audience, and merely be pointed at by Hamlet; or should they be placed, still invisibly, on the fourth wall, which, convention dictates, separates the modern stage from the audience; or should we not assume their physical presence at all but take them merely as word paintings by the Prince? (P. 208.)

And although Spencer is insistent that "it is the passionate torrent of the actor's words that will arouse the right emotional response in the audience, not the presence or absence of glowering canvases or jeweled miniatures" (p. 209), he concedes that "if we must have the pictures physically present (and I think they were) and fix their form and location, the best guess is that Shakespeare planned to use miniatures worn by Hamlet and his mother" (p. 213).

This is the business I myself should prefer, but it looks as if Ward did not use it. His directions for this scene are unusually numerous. The first warning in preparation for the scene is "(17) Queen Polonius 2 Chairs on." This is followed, after some 30 lines, by "(18) Hamlet 2 pictures," the direction appearing just opposite the couplet with which Claudius concludes his scene. Then, in the outside margin, opposite the centered direction printed in the Quarto, "Enter Queen and Polonius," is the bold mark which Ward uses to indicate entrances; and in the inside margin, another manuscript note that echoes and amplifies No. 17: "Two Chairs on below y^e long trap." Opposite the printed direction "Enter Hamlet" is Ward's symbol for an entrance; and then, as Gertrude says "Withdraw, I hear him coming," we find the manuscript direction, "Polonius retires behind the arras."

problem, says (Sept. 20, p. 667) that any is good which is emotionally convincing but that he prefers to have Hamlet point offstage, where the portraits would hang unseen by the audience.

Several points are worth noting. In the first place, two chairs are to be got ready for use in the scene. This confirms the stage tradition as depicted in Rowe's engraving, where Hamlet stands beside an overturned chair and Gertrude sits in another.³⁶ The chairs are brought on at the time Gertrude and Polonius enter and placed "below y^e long trap,"³⁷ so that the Ghost may rise behind them.³⁸

The next point of importance is that there is no reference to pictures until Hamlet is warned to be ready for his entrance. There is no alternative to believing that Hamlet brought the pictures on with him, miniatures, of the kind he had mentioned shortly before in conversation with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—"my Uncle is King of Denmark; and those that would make mouths at him while my father lived, give twenty, forty, fifty, nay, a hundred dukets apiece for his picture in little." It is characteristic of Shakespeare that a detail mentioned so casually in the early part of a play should now be turned to spectacular account, as Hamlet confronts his mother with the two likenesses.

The wearing of miniatures about the neck seems to have fallen out of fashion among gentlemen in the late seventeenth century. Perhaps this is why it was thought best for Hamlet to carry the miniatures, whereas in Elizabethan times he might have worn one and found the other hanging on Gertrude's bosom. In any case, it is clear that in Ward's production, Hamlet carried the two miniatures.³⁹ It is interesting that John Philip Kemble,

³⁶ See the interesting account of the overturned chair in Sprague, pp. 164-165.

³⁷ That is, the large platform trap, not the smaller grave trap in the floor of the inner stage.

³⁸ This is where the Ghost ought, in my opinion, to rise also in I. i and I. iv, and it troubles me that Ward, who is so specific at this juncture, is silent earlier. Was the business so clearly understood at the beginning of the play that detailed instructions were not required? Or did he consider that I. i and I. iv had enough thrills without a Ghost's rising from the depths and so reserve this piece of business for the present scene?

³⁹ This confirms the statement of Tom Davies, who wrote in 1784 that it had been "the constant practice of the Stage, ever since the Restoration, in this scene, to produce from [Hamlet's] pocket two pictures in little"; cited by Miss McCarthy, Spencer, and Sprague.

Ward's grandson, introduced, as one of his innovations,⁴⁰ the use of two miniatures (Baker, p. 84). In all probability he had grown up with this piece of business in the provinces, and using it on the London stage was a simple act of piety.

⁴⁰ Another of Kemble's innovations was the omission of Hamlet's discourse on the art of acting. Kemble professed to be governed by the dictates of modesty, but it should be remembered that Ward, and before him Betterton, had omitted the speech.

John Bioren: Printer to Philadelphia Publishers*

By MARIAN S. CARSON AND MARSHALL W. S. SWAN

THIS is a history of a man, not of a book; the story of a printer and not a bibliography. John Bioren was one of those American printers whose imprint is somewhat familiar, but of the man little is known. In 1794, when twenty-one, he became co-proprietor of a printing establishment, and for forty years he was a figure in the Philadelphia publishing world.

The first migration of Swedes to America was in the early seventeenth century. But in 1767, over one hundred years later, John Bioren's father, Benjamin Björn, came to Philadelphia from Enköping, a small mining town about fifty miles from Stockholm. It was at about this time that the iron mines there were exhausted, which may account for his emigration. He became an American, serving in the 3rd Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Army for four years from January 1, 1777. He appears also to have served on a vessel of war, for on September 27, 1781, Mary Bioren, writing from "Middletown, in Paxton" now in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, made claim for his prize money in a letter to Commissioner Thomas Bradford of the celebrated family of printers. About that time Benjamin returned to Sweden to settle the estate of his father, who was a magistrate, but his ship went down with all hands aboard. He left in Philadelphia a number of children and his widow Mary Lykens, "an American of perfect Swedish extraction," as the records at Christ Church, Philadelphia, put it. That is, she was a descendant

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, June 5, 1948 (by Mrs. Carson).

of those Swedes who came to the Delaware Valley between 1638 and 1655 while the Swedes dominated it.

It may be interesting to digress long enough to place the Swedes in early Pennsylvania history. In 1609 Henry Hudson discovered the South River, now the Delaware, and by that right the Dutch West India Company established at Gloucester a trading post in 1623-1624. The first Swedish colony was in 1638 at Christiana, now the site of Wilmington. They prospered greatly under Governor Johan Printz and were undisturbed until 1655, when they were overthrown by the Dutch under Peter Stuyvesant, from New York, who in turn were superseded by the English in 1664. This cleared the way for the grant of 1681 to William Penn by King Charles.

One of Benjamin Bioren's sons was John, the subject of this sketch. He was born March 23, 1773. Contrary to biographical notices, he was not a graduate or even a matriculate of the University of Pennsylvania, or what was then the Academy and College of Philadelphia. It is suggested that while on a visit to Philadelphia, where his mother had met Thomas Bradford in 1781 when John was nine, the boy might have been placed as an apprentice in that famous family of printers. Certainly he was prepared in a practical way for the career that lay ahead of him. It was the custom effectuated by provincial law to place a young boy as an apprentice in the home of an artisan, there to learn a trade and to be taught to read the Bible, write, and cypher. The contracts were quaintly worded and are not without interest even at this remote date:

During all which Term, the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where readily obey, He shall do no damage to his said Master, nor see it to be done by others, without letting or giving Notice thereof to his said Master. He shall not waste his said Master's Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term. He shall not play at Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, whereby his said Master may have Damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from his said Master, he

shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not absent himself Day or Night from his said Master's Service without his Leave: Nor haunt Ale-houses, Taverns, or Play-houses; but in all Things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the said term.

At the expiration of the term, which was often ten or eleven years, or when the boy was twenty-one, he was given two suits of clothes, one of which was new, and thereafter he was entitled to seek employment or to set out on his own business venture. Such apprentices often started at the age of eight or ten. When he was twelve, Franklin was apprenticed to his brother, a printer, but it became so distasteful that he escaped from his servitude, much to the advantage of Philadelphia. Isaiah Thomas, the New England printer, was only six when he was bound, but he, too, ran away from his indentured master.

Nothing is known of young Bioren during the formation of our national government, or even during the tragic summer of the yellow fever in 1793. In 1794, while the printing trade was still in its doldrums, John Bioren was the moving spirit in the newly established firm of Mountford, Bioren and Company. Timothy Mountford soon withdrew from mercantile pursuits, but by 1797 he was back unsuccessfully in the printing business and issued *The Southwark Gazette and Philadelphia Chronicle*, which is now so rare that only numbers five to eight of Volume One have been located by Clarence S. Brigham in his exhaustive *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1947). After April 24, 1795, John Bioren and Patrick Madan, "late of the firm of Mountford, Bioren and Co.," carried on the general business of printing. Their work covered many lines as their notices stated:

Having a general assortment of printing materials, they hope to give every satisfaction to those who may please to employ them. Printing in general, Ship Advertisements, Cards, Handbills, executed at the shortest notice. The first volume of the Works of Shakespeare is now in the press.

This partnership lasted from April 24, 1795, to about January

25, 1797. Thereafter the name of John Bioren (not yet twenty-three) as a printer appears alone.

The earliest Mountford, Bioren and Company imprint found by Evans is a 25-page pamphlet, *Authentic History of the Origin and Progress of the Late Revolution in Geneva*, which was printed for John Fenno, who also published the *Gazette of the United States* and was at one time official printer to the Senate of the United States.

The most ambitious undertaking, however, in Bioren's early career was the printing of *The Works of William Shakespeare* in eight duodecimo volumes. This he projected under the firm name of Mountford, Bioren and Company, but it finally bore the imprint of Bioren and Madan. Three volumes are dated 1795 and five, 1796. Rose-colored proposals were issued and subscription lists were circulated. Thus subscriptions were "received by Messrs. Dobson, Carey, Young, Johnston [*sic*], and by the booksellers throughout the United States." The *Works*, Bioren stated, would be "printed on fine American paper in a stile of Typographical Elegance that shall reflect the highest credit of the American press." Certainly it fulfilled its promise.

The prepublication price was eight dollars, and the sets were bound in blue boards with paper backs. I have never seen a set in this original state. The reason for this was that book buyers invariably preferred to have their books subsequently bound to suit their individual taste, and this made them easier to ship to distant parts of the country. There is no way of telling how many sets went through the press. In 1939 Westfall reported that there were twelve sets in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. Other libraries are not so fortunate.

One of the inducements offered by the publishers was that the first volume "shall be embellished with a beautiful Frontispiece of Shakespeare—engraved by the best American Artist." At a time when Philadelphia boasted of many fine artists and engravers, it is interesting that Robert Field was chosen. Field resided

for a short period in Philadelphia, where he was engaged in his profession as a miniature painter. That his engravings, however, were in demand is attested by his stipple portraits of Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson. As with his Washington portrait, he engraved it "with some ornaments to surround and make it more interesting." Beneath the portrait, which is in an ornamental oval frame supported by the figures of Comedy and Tragedy, is the inscription "Engraved by Robert Field from the Portrait in the Possession of the Duke of Chandos." Actually it derived from the Brocas copperplate used in the Dublin Ayscough edition of 1791 and also in the Malone edition, Dublin, 1794. In the lower right hand corner are the letters "I.S. d." I have no hesitation in ascribing the composition and the drawing from which Field worked to James Smithers, a copperplate engraver who specialized in elaborate advertisements and other ornate subjects.

According to Dr. Giles Dawson of the Folger Library, there are bibliographical problems involved in the text because of corrections made during the course of publication. It remains for a Shakespearean scholar with a flair for bibliography to investigate these minutiae.

The question of identification of the American editor of the *Works* has long puzzled historians. The *Preface* mentions "The Editors." There is a tradition that Joseph Hopkinson was the editor. Hopkinson was a prominent Philadelphia lawyer, and later the Judge of Admiralty, and all his long life was a patron of the arts. Certainly Hopkinson, as a young man, had a sincere interest in Shakespeare, and in his poem "Science" in 1762 he wrote the couplet:

It must be so, prophetic Fancy cries,
See other Popes and other Shakespeares rise.

Certain it is too that Hopkinson knew Bioren the printer. However, all this speculation is not too important, because the first American edition shows little original scholarship. As the Pro-

posals in the newspaper stated, it was reprinted "from Jones's Dublin Edition." Dr. McManaway interprets this to mean the three-volume Ayscough Royal Edition printed by William Jones in 1791. The Poems were literally reproduced from a separate Dublin of the same year. The glossary was taken from Gordon's 1792 Edinburgh edition. The end notes were Samuel Johnson's, probably pirated from the 1785 London edition, with some slight material added by the Philadelphia "Editors," whether Hopkinson, Bioren, or others unidentified. The Preface in the Bioren and Madan edition, however, does contain the first real Shakespearean criticism which appeared in America.

Henry N. Paul, Dr. John Louis Haney, Alfred V. R. Westfall and others who have written on the American texts of Shakespeare all leave doubt as to the identity of the editor or editors of Bioren and Madan's eight volumes. I have no conviction, but a line by Gilbert K. Chesterton in an edition of *Pickwick* may be apropos. "The book originated in the suggestion of a publisher, as many more good books have done than the arrogance of a man of letters is commonly inclined to admit."

Besides the Shakespeare, Bioren had other connections with the field of drama. The question of the morality and propriety of theatrical productions led to a heated debate over the years, and it was not until 1789 that the theatre became legalized in Philadelphia. Upon lifting the ban on theatrical productions, the New Theatre was planned, and after a delay caused by the yellow fever of 1793, the elegant building on Chestnut Street was opened February 17, 1794. That first season ten Shakespeare dramas were played.

At the head of the New Theatre troupe was James Fennell, a great tragedian. He wrote an engaging autobiography which was published by Bioren. Fennell's *Apology* tells of the high cost of living and of his giving lectures on moral philosophy with the use of apparatus from the University of Pennsylvania. Fennell tells us that "Dr. Rittenhouse lent me, among other articles, the

celebrated electrical battery of Dr. Franklin; but what was to me of dearest value, was the present of an excellent prism, made by himself." The actor was in a distinguished scientific coterie. Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, a nephew of Rittenhouse and a well-known botanist, became Fennell's intimate friend. Together they worked on a process that was to lead the actor far from the theatre and, what is more to the point, Barton led Fennell to John Bioren who had already printed two editions of Barton's *New Views of the Tribes and Nations of America*. In order to publicize his invention or process, Fennell relates that he

published, in Philadelphia, a prospectus, or pamphlet, containing the plan of my undertaking; but prejudices again prevailed, and I obtained but little assistance. I dedicated my pamphlet¹ to Mr. Adams, then president of the United States to whom I respectfully sent a copy, as handsomely bound as I could procure it to be; but I received, not even from his secretary, who afterwards declared to me that he had personally presented it, the slightest acknowledgment of its having been received. I had also the honour of presenting one, of the same binding, to Mr. Jefferson, then vice-president, who instantly, having perused it, condescended to send me a polite letter, [according to the letter press copy which Jefferson retained, the approbation was not wildly enthusiastic!] approving the theory, and expressing his wish for the success of the practice. . . . In this business, in one year, I sunk fourteen thousand dollars. But I had a real friend, Joseph Hopkinson, esquire, of Philadelphia, whose advice had I taken in the first instance, I should have avoided all difficulties; but I was headstrong and obstinate. This true friend, on all occasions of importance, has advised me well, as the unfortunate results of neglecting his good counsel prove at this moment.

Fennell might have mentioned Bioren. Unfortunately he does not, although he speaks of that rival printer, the youthful John Ward Fenno, as "the amiable and really good."

In 1808 Bioren's connection with theatrical people was extended by his printing Charles Kemble's two-act play for George E. Blake, who in that year was listed in the directories as "musical instrument maker and librarian." This play was *Plot and Counterplot, or a Portrait of Cervantes . . . as performed at the Philadel-*

¹ *Description of the Principle and Plan of Proposed Establishment of Salt Works; For the Purpose of Supplying the United States with Home-made Salt.* By James Fennell. Philadelphia, Printed by J. Bioren, 1798. 60 pp. [Evans 33729.]

phia Theatre. Charles Kemble, the great actor and one-time manager of Covent Garden Theatre, later came to America with his daughter, the celebrated Fanny Kemble. After she left the stage, she greatly extended her fame by readings from Shakespeare. It was these readings that first inspired Horace Howard Furness, one of the world's scholars in the works of Shakespeare.

More than any other Philadelphia printer at the close of the eighteenth century, John Bioren's activities illustrate the coöperation between printers. Much is known of Franklin's method of interchange with Armbruster and others. A study afforded by the sixty-six Bioren imprints segregated in The American Antiquarian Society and additional titles encountered elsewhere shows that he printed many volumes for other publishers or to be sold by several bookshops. Indeed this coöperation in publishing formed a large part of Bioren's business and included Thomas Stephens and Dennon and Condie, 1795; William Cobbett and John Fenno (long official printer to Senate of the United States) in 1797; Robert Campbell, 1797-1799; Thomas Dobson, 1798; David Hogan, 1799 to 1813; Henry and Patrick Rice, 1799-1800; and Mathew Carey, 1800 to 1816, although Carey's account books indicate 1795 as the year Bioren began his series of charges for compository and press work. Altogether he was associated with at least sixteen Philadelphia printers before the year 1817.

There were countless instances where Bioren printed books or signatures bearing other than his own name. Only patient research will bring them all to light. For instance, the Carey Papers in The American Antiquarian Society reveal a series of sales and services between the Bioren and Carey firms over a period of twenty-seven years. Bioren and Madan composed or printed thirteen separate items for Carey during the year 1795 alone, and thereafter there were many charges for printing which went out to the public under Carey's imprint. Volume 3 of the Carey Papers (A.A.S.) gives the following meticulous report of Bioren's

part in the ambitious Guthrie's Geography which carries Carey's imprint:

Philad May 13th 1795

Mr. Mathew Carey

To Bioren and Madan, Dr.

To composing geography 17 pages Long-primer,	
vig - sig. (dd) 3 pages (ee) 4 d ^o gg	4d ^o
(hh) 2 d ^o at 12.13.0 half sheet	7. 0. 3
To composing 13 pages Brevier D ^o	
vig - sig. (hh) 2 (15) 4 (kk) 4 (ll)	
3 d ^o	8.15.6
Press-Work of Ditto 9 half-sheets	13.10.0
	£29. 5.9

Carey published his Catholic Bible, in quarto size, in 1790, and reissued it in 1805. On February 2 Bioren charged Carey for

Composition 6 sheets Testament	
32,000 lines a .45 per 1000	86.40
Press work on 6 sheets	36.00

Under date of March 25 Bioren printed twenty-one sheets—eighty-four pages of the “standing Bible at \$2. a sheet.” Later the same year he printed “24½ sheets Doway Bible.” This made a total of 206 pages which John Bioren printed in his shop for the celebrated Carey Bible. However, some of the glory becomes doubtful when we read a communication from John M’Culloch to Carey, preserved in the Lea and Febiger Letter Book at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

M. Carey
Sir—

Philada Mar. 18, 1805.

The last Bibles bought from you were an unfortunate bargain. Though the bill is dated October 2, it was December before they were received except the few that were borrowed so that the sales in fall could not be supplied; though it is well they were not sold, as they would probably have been returned. It is now Spring and though the Bibles are on hand, I cannot pretend to sell them, and yet I have none to supply my customers. I am thus twice disappointed—you see what the Bibles are. In many places illegible, through bad presswork;— in several places the columns are nearly closed. In multitudes of places, letters, words,

and lines are out. I never observed it till last Saturday.—Though during the winter most that came to look for Bibles went away without purchasing them. They are indeed totally unsaleable; as the person who unfortunately buys them would find them in a hundred or two places, either unreadable or nonsense.

What seems right is, that I return what [is] on hand, pay for what is sold with the quartos, and you take up the note due the 28th instant:—

There is on hand bound 125
in sheets 120

245 at .47 $1/3$ \$116.37 $1/3$
 16.66 $2/3$
 133.04 from 183
 leaves \$49.96

and then I shall suffer loss having hardly any to sell.

[Part torn out] ers

JOHN M'CULLOCH.

Books of instruction and other volumes for children came off Bioren's presses. These were sold in wholesale lots to other booksellers. We find Carey, for instance, buying the following order for Bioren printed books in 1804:

200 *Looking Glass for the Mind*
200 *Dilworth's Asst.*
200 *Phila. Latin Grammar*

George Fisher's *Instructor* was issued several times between 1801 and 1812. In 1803 he printed *The History of Little Dick* for Jacob Johnson. Later he performed the same service for another celebrated juvenile publisher and engraver, William Charles, notably *The History and Adventures of Little Eliza* and *The History and Adventures of Little William*, in 1815.

Bioren's shop was frequented by patrons of the arts, business men, men of science and politicians of the anti-Federalist persuasion. The latter were followers of Jefferson and McKean. They were opposed to the Federalists under Alexander Hamilton. Reading between the lines, it seems certain that Bioren was one of the Jefferson party. However, early in 1797 his position is not clear. He and Madan published *The American Annual Register, or Historical Memoirs of the United States, for the Year 1796*

(Philadelphia, Printed and sold by Bioren & Madan, No. 77 Dock-street). It was the work of James Callender. This pamphleteer soon issued from the Press of Snowden and McCorkle *The History of the United States for 1796*, which contained charges that led to Hamilton's confession of his true offence in his attachment to Mrs. Reynolds. This, issued from Bioren's presses, was: *Observations on Certain Documents Contained in No. V & VI of "The History of the United States for the Year 1796," in which the Charge of Speculation against Alexander Hamilton, Late Secretary of the Treasury, is Fully Refuted. Written by himself* (Philadelphia, Printed for John Fenno, By John Bioren, 1797).

In 1800 Robert T. Rawle had printed by Bioren *A Test of the Religious Principles of Mr. Jefferson*. This defense was but a small twelve-page pamphlet, but shows Bioren's Democratic bias.

Partisan opinion in the state was strong. Here Governor Thomas McKean and Speaker Simon Snyder were leaders. Although the capital of Pennsylvania moved to Lancaster late in 1799 and again to Harrisburg in 1812, Philadelphia remained the seat of the printing industry. The contract for the new code provided for 1,000 copies "as proposed to be printed by Mathew Carey and John Bioren; to be neatly and correctly printed in six volumes, octavo, with a complete index, with notes and references, well bound and lettered at ten dollars for each set."²

It was necessary to extend the series to eight volumes, and on March 17, 1806, the Legislature passed an Act authorizing Governor McKean to contract with John Bioren "to continue a publication of the edition of Carey and Bioren." Between 1810 and 1822 still another edition of the State Laws came from the Bioren press, but in the latter case there was no connection with Carey. This was projected in four volumes but necessarily extended to seven, and consisted of 1,350 copies, "to be printed on

² The first volume appeared in 1803: "*Laws of the Commonwealth of Pa. From the 19th of October, 1700 to the 6th Day of April, 1802. Republished under the authority of the Legislature by M. Carey and J. Bioren.* Philadelphia, Printed by J. Bioren, No. 88 Chestnut Street, for Mathew Carey, and self. 1803."

fine paper, with a good type, a specimen whereof shall previously be delivered, and if approved by the Governor, shall be lodged in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, to be handsomely lettered and bound, with a complete index, proper notes and references, at a price not exceeding two dollars a copy. . . ."

The Carey Papers throw light on the manner of publication of the first Laws printed by Bioren; he did all the composition and presswork for the partners. Mathew Carey was the business manager. Medium-grade paper was bought from General Henry Scheetz, Jr., of Sandy Run Mill, Montgomery County. Bioren was using his own type, although in 1804 he traded a printing press in good order for a "fount of Burgeois." Bioren was making his own inks.

The editorial work on the two Bioren editions of the Laws was well regarded. In 1803 John Passmore was paid \$250 "To prepare notes and references to other editions of the laws of Pennsylvania." Proofreading for this Carey and Bioren edition was done over a period of time by Daniel Humphreys of the class of 1771 at Yale, M.A. 1774. He is known as one of the Connecticut Wits, and was a statesman and friend of President Washington. While serving as Minister to Spain, he was recalled abruptly in 1801. Thus it was that a distinguished man came to oversee the text of our laws. For some unexplained reason all of Volume II was re-read and Humphreys was paid an additional six pounds.

For the later edition of the Laws, Bioren employed Charles Smith, a man of learning and distinction at the Bar. It is said that "His notes display great ability and research." Joseph Reed, Jr., completed the series by supplying notes for Volumes VI and VII. These were issued from Bioren's new shop at 72 South Third Street.

During Bioren's career, it is generally agreed that Mathew Carey was the dominant figure among the printers. Bioren was to have many transactions with Carey, as is shown by the latter's

accounts. Another detail worth recording is the charges for quantities of printers' ink, which Bioren evidently made in a superior manner. Carey had long felt the need for a good American-made ink. In 1802 he offered a prize of \$50 for the best specimen offered, the sample to be large enough for practical publication. While the whole story does not appear, it is probable that Bioren won the award. The Carey business papers show numerous purchases of ink from Bioren, who charged about fifty cents a pound. On July 27, 1804, twenty-five dozen ink powders were delivered by Carey for Bioren to be sold at Shannon and Poole's Auction. Evidently Carey was no longer satisfied.

Bioren was actively engaged in the printing business from 1794 until 1835, with the exception of a short time about 1828, when he may have been absent from Philadelphia while trying unsuccessfully to establish a colony of Swedish immigrants at Black Log Valley in Dauphin County. This span of years covered prosperous times as well as years that were slow. Bioren was not above seeking job printing. He was centrally located near the Customs House, which in those days was indeed the very heart of the city's business district. As stated in the advertisement of Bioren and Madan, Printers, late of the firm of Mountford, Bioren and Company,

Having a general assortment of printing materials, they hope to give every satisfaction to those who may please to employ them.

Printing in general, Ship Advertisements, Cards, Handbills, etc. executed at the shortest notice.

Bioren supplied shippers and others with seamen's agreements, outward and inward entries, bail and apprentice bonds, and legal blanks. He printed checks for the Bank of the United States and the Bank of Pennsylvania.

Men of science gave Bioren their custom. In addition to those already mentioned, there were technical works by Doctors William Currie, Philip Gendron Proileau, Charleton Yeatman, and

James Ewell, whose father had been a friend of Thomas Jefferson. In slack hours Bioren commenced the printing of medical labels. In this undertaking Bioren was one of the very first, for previously doctors made manuscript notations to be pasted on the bottles.

Bioren was a general printer. His publications ranged from medicine bottle labels to a set of Shakespeare. His customers included individual scholars and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, The Academy of the Fine Arts and the Protestant Episcopal Church. His own ventures comprised medical treatises, juveniles, literature, almanacs, schoolbooks and political tracts. In conclusion, it may be observed that John Bioren affords an interesting study of a metropolitan printer at the turn of the nineteenth century. He was himself a printer-publisher, and, at the same time, he employed his presses for others in the trade.

Bibliographical Notes

The Costs of Publishing Gibbon's "Vindication"

The appearance in 1776 of the first volume of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, though generally received with almost extravagant praise, provoked bitter controversy in certain quarters.¹ A number of scholars and learned divines disliked Gibbon's treatment of the early development of Christianity and sprang at once to the defence of the Church with "a fruitful crop of Answers, Apologies, Remarks, Examinations, etc."²

The earliest of these criticisms Gibbon respected as coming from scholars whose positions or attainments gave them the right to differ with him. He made no answer to them, for he considered his own case adequately presented in his history. But when there appeared, in 1778, an abusive criticism of a different sort, Gibbon felt that his honor required him to reply. The offending author was one H. E. Davis, a young man of twenty-one, but a few months out of Oxford. His work, *An Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History*,³ was a bitter denunciation of the historian, couched in unrestrained language, and attacking his good faith rather than his historical method or conclusions. Mr. Davis's effort is not remembered today, and if its author is ever recalled, it is only as the unworthy opponent who provoked the great historian to open controversy. Gibbon set out to annihilate the rash young man. He spent some months in preparing his answer, making it, as he said later in his *Memoirs*, "expressive of less anger than contempt." But, angry or contemptuous, he

¹ The story of the writing and publication of this famous work, along with accounts of the reception by the public of its several parts, has been assembled from the abundant sources in Jane E. Norton, *A Bibliography of the Works of Edward Gibbon* (Oxford, University Press, 1940). She has not been content to record the bibliographical data of the several editions, but has given a readable account of the literary life of the historian in so far as it affected his writing and publishing. My several references to the work indicate the considerable use I have made of it for this paper.

² Gibbon's *Vindication*, p. 3.

³ (London, J. Dodsley, 1778. 288 pp.)

employed his exceptional command of English idiom to good advantage in his effort to humiliate as well as to refute poor Mr. Davis.

The title-page of Gibbon's reply reads as follows:

A Vindication of Some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By the Author. London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, In the Strand. MDCCLXXIX.

The volume first appeared on January 14, 1779, in an edition of 750 copies. It was immediately popular; a second edition was called for almost at once and appeared towards the end of February in 500 copies. But few changes were made in the second edition, so that the collations of the two are identical except for the words "The Second Edition" on the title, and the incorporation into the text of a post script which had stood at the end of the first edition. The volume was octavo, made up of half-title, title, and 158 numbered pages, plus a final leaf bearing an advertisement for the third edition of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*—82 leaves in all. It was issued sewn, without covers. The price, 2s. 6d., was printed on the half-title.⁴

There has come to light among the Gibbon manuscripts in The Pierpont Morgan Library a document⁵ bearing on the publication of the *Vindication*. It is the statement from the publishers,⁶ itemizing the costs of printing and publishing and calculating the profits. The statement is written on one side of a folio sheet (12½ x 7⅞ inches) of laid paper.⁷ It reads as follows:

⁴ The details of the description of the *Vindication* are based on Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 91, confirmed by reference to four copies of the first edition. Though she does not say so, Miss Norton has obviously made no attempt to list all known or available copies of the several works of Gibbon under her heading *Copies*. The New York Public Library and the Columbia University Library have each two copies, the Yale University Library has one copy of the first edition of the *Vindication*, which are not mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

⁵ This sheet is one of several, loosely inserted in a bound "Receipt Book" of Gibbon's, covering expenditures for the period 1773-1780. The volume was acquired by J. P. Morgan, the Elder, from Pearson & Co. of London. Nothing is known of its previous history.

⁶ William Strahan and Thomas Cadell were both figures of influence in the book world of the second half of the eighteenth century. Biographies of both are to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in *A Dictionary of the Printers & Booksellers Who Were at Work in England . . . 1726-1775*, by H. R. Plomer (London, Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1932).

⁷ The watermark is a Britannia type rather similar to no. 231 (but without the name of the paper maker) in W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Amsterdam, M. Hertzberger, 1935).

Mr Gibbons Vindication 1st Edition No 750

1779			£	s	d
	Advertising before Publication		2	5	0
Jany 14	 Do On		4	10	0
30	 Do again		1	10	0
	15 Rms $\frac{3}{4}$ Paper		11	15	9
	Paid for Printing		14	8	0
	Sewing & Publishing		4	10	0
			£	38	18 9

Second Edition No 500

Feby	Advertising before	2	5	0
	 On	4	10	0
July	Advg again	1	18	0
	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rms Paper at 15/6 ⁸	7	8	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Paid Printing	11	0	6
	Sewing & Publishing	3	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		£	69	11 0

Cr.

1075	Sold at 9:12.0 per 100	103	4	0
15	Author			
160	Left			
1250	Deduct	69	11	0
	Profit	33	13	0
	Mr Gibbons moiety	16	16	6
	Strahan & Cadells	16	16	6
		33	13	0

The cost of production in the case of each edition is comprised of four items which account for the following percentages of the total cost:

	1st ed.	2nd ed.	Both eds together
Advertising	21.2%	28.3%	24.4%
Paper	30.3	24.3	27.6
Printing	36.9	36.0	36.5
Sewing & Publishing	11.6	11.4	11.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

⁸ An error in multiplication has reduced the actual cost of these 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ reams of paper by 10s.

The production cost per copy amounts to just over 1s. for the first edition, about 1s. 2½d. for the second edition. We see that the bulk of the books had been disposed of at the time the statement was drawn up—sold in lots of 100 at the wholesale price of £9/12—or just over 1/11 per copy. Since the retail price was fixed at 2/6, it is clear that the retailer was expected to take a profit of about 7d. per copy.

The profit of £33/13/0 realized on the basis of the 1,075 copies sold amounts to 48% of the total outlay. Actually the profit rose somewhat with the sale of additional copies from the "160 left" recorded in the statement. Nine years later, on June 9, 1788, Cadell made a payment of £3/10 to Gibbon for the latter's share on 79 copies of the *Vindication* sold.⁹ Assuming the same division of the profits as in the Morgan statement, the receipts for these 79 copies must have totalled £7, which raises the profit from 48% to 58% of the total outlay.

An interesting parallel to these figures is to be found in a similar statement which was drawn up for Gibbon by the same publishers two years earlier.¹⁰ The publication then being reported on was the third edition of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*. The printing costs registered in the two statements are hardly comparable: the printing of the notes at the foot of the page in the third edition of the *Decline and Fall* is noted as a special expense; moreover, the latter is a much larger volume than the *Vindication*, both in format and in the number of pages. The far greater profit realized from the volume of history, however, relative to the cost of producing it, and the different distribution of the profits between publisher and author, make for an interesting comparison. The second part of the statement of 1777 reads as follows:

1000 books at 16s.	£ 800 0 0
Deduct as above [Production costs]	310 0 0
Profit on this edition when sold	490 0 0
Mr. Gibbon's two thirds is	326 13 4
Messrs. Strahan & Cadell's	163 6 8
	490 0 0

⁹ The manuscript is among the Gibbon papers in the British Museum; cited by Norton, p. 87.

¹⁰ First published in the second edition of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. by John Holroyd, Lord Sheffield (London, J. Murray, 1814), II: 167, as a note explanatory of a reference in one of Gibbon's letters. It has been several times reprinted, most recently by Miss Norton, pp. 44-45.

The total profit (or expected profit) here amounts to 158% of the costs, as compared with 58% for the *Vindication*. We note that the publishers sold this volume at 16s. to the bookseller who was to take a profit of 5s. in retailing it at the established price of one guinea.

The distribution of the profits—two-thirds to the author, one-third to the publisher, instead of the fifty-fifty division of the *Vindication*—is perhaps the most interesting point of this record. We are not justified in assuming it to be typical of eighteenth-century publishing finance, for it seems more than likely that it is a special case affected by the phenomenal success of the two previous editions. Certainly it is evidence of the liberal treatment which Gibbon felt he enjoyed at the hands of the firm of Strahan and Cadell. This liberal treatment was undoubtedly one of the circumstances behind the cordial relationship which subsisted between author and publisher from the signing of the contract for the first volume of the *Decline and Fall* until its author's death. Gibbon's correspondence and *Memoirs* contain numerous references to his satisfaction. For example,¹¹ writing to Cadell in 1786 concerning his plans for publishing the three final volumes, he said, "With regard to our pecuniary arrangements, I persuade myself that we shall have no more difficulties now than heretofore . . . that so important a transaction will have been concluded . . . by three minutes of conversation . . . a memorable example in the annals of authors and booksellers." Moreover, in his will¹² Gibbon requested that his executors, in selling the publication rights to any of his posthumous papers, grant preference to Strahan and Cadell, "whose liberal spirit I have experienced in similar transactions." The firm, in its turn, was equally pleased with the relationship. Both the elder Strahan and Cadell in their letters expressed great enthusiasm for Gibbon's work and their pleasure in being the publishers of it. Cadell summed up his philosophy of publishing by saying, "I had rather risk my fortune with a few such authors as Mr Gibbon, Dr Robertson, D. Hume, etc. than be the publisher of a hundred insipid publications."¹³

GEORGE K. BOYCE

¹¹ See *The Private Letters of Edward Gibbon* . . . ed. by R. E. Prothero (London, J. Murray, 1896), I: 282, 285; II: 152; *The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, Printed Verbatim* . . . , ed. by John Murray (London, J. Murray, 1896), p. 310. The quotation in the text is taken from a letter published in the first edition of the *Miscellaneous Works* (London, A. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1796), I: 666. For some reason the letter was not reprinted in the second edition, nor is it to be found among the letters edited by Prothero.

¹² *The Autobiography* (cf. note 11), p. 423.

¹³ Cited in Norton, pp. 38, 59.

Opening Up Northern North America

Through the North Atlantic Pact it is hoped that peaceable communications can be preserved in the Arctic and subarctic regions of the world. In order to make the public more familiar with this section, the Office of Naval Research has engaged Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefánsson to edit *Encyclopedia Arctica*, one of the three projects he suggested at their request. As interest is concentrating more and more on the polar regions, it seems an appropriate time to consider an anonymous eighteenth-century volume devoted to the opening up of northern North America.

The long title, typical of the times, is quite informative: A SHORT STATE OF THE COUNTRIES and TRADE OF NORTH AMERICA, claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, Under Pretence of a CHARTER for Ever, or Lands without Bounds or Limits, and an exclusive Trade to those unbounded Seas and Countries; SHEWING The Illegality of the said Grant, and the Abuse they have made of it; and the great benefit BRITAIN may obtain by settling those Countries, and extending the Trade amongst the Natives by civilizing and incorporating with them, and laying a Foundation for their becoming Christians and industrious Subjects of GREAT-BRITAIN; and the Necessity there is of a Parliamentary Enquiry into the pretended Rights and exclusive Monopoly claimed by the said Company, and their Abuse of the Grant. That those Countries may be settled, either by fixing a Company under proper Regulations and Restrictions, or by laying open the Trade to all the British Merchants, and settling them, at the Public Expence, or by a moderate Tax upon that Trade. LONDON: Printed for J. Robinson in Ludgate-street. M,DCC,XLIX.

My attention was attracted to a catalogue item of the book which noted that it contained an abstract from the logbook of the ship *California*, during 1746-1747. The Bibliographical Society of America has already published my notes identifying Charles Swaine as the clerk who kept those records.¹ Through the courtesy of Mr. Peter Decker, I had an opportunity to examine this book. The anonymous author referred to the "Journal of the Weather from August, 1746, to the end of June, 1747, taken at or near York Factory, on the Nelson River." In preparation for wintering, Montague House had been erected to house the officers of both vessels and some of the men from each ship. This was on the southwestern coast of Hudson Bay.

The writer used those weather reports as proof that a temperate climate existed at the mouth of a river near an icy sea, a climate that was as temperate as that on the continent of Europe in the same latitude, where Riga,

¹ PAPERS, 41: 156-158 (1947).

Edinburgh, Copenhagen, Moscow, Danzig, Hamburg, York, were in habitable climates, while to the north there were places of great trade, and also pleasure: Archangel; Lapland; Drontheim, Norway; Bergen and Petersburg; Stockholm. He advocated opening up that North American territory by settling in that region, where grains and other products could be raised. Trading could be established there, and the search for the short passage to the Pacific Ocean could be continued. (The recently returned explorers had left two probable openings which had not been thoroughly explored. In addition, although furs were very plentiful in the region, the Company was importing comparatively few furs and pelts.)

According to the author, the combined North American claims of the British, French and Spanish did not include one-third of the continent, and the rest was claimed under the grant of the Hudson's Bay Company, said grant extending around the world to all lands, including Asia, as long as they were not occupied by Christian princes, and also extending from the North Pole to the South Pole. The Company had never proven their claims about explorations and attempts at settlement, accounts of the territory, the weather, etc., and had neither shown nor made public their journals and charts. The French were securing the Indian trade to the south and west of Hudson Bay, and the lakes beyond the Nelson River. French traders carried goods from Canada by land, and up rivers with cataracts; when they purchased beavers, they were able to undersell the Company. Other colonies in North America were also benefiting from the Indian trade. Furs of various kinds were available in the Hudson Bay region as far north as the Polar Circle, and were also obtainable on all the Labrador coast. Besides the advantages of the land trade, profits might be secured through the fisheries of the region. In addition, whalebone, ivory, oil, tin, and other products might be obtained. If the British would supply the "Eskimaux-Indians" with harpoons and other trading goods, the natives would be willing to conduct the English through their straits and inlets and, without danger or expense to the British, become their fishermen. As a result, shipping and the number of British seamen would increase; and by exchanging great quantities of coarse manufactured goods, the trading would become more profitable than the gaining of the Greenland fishery. Exploration would be advanced, and "by this Means we might find out, by the Natives for Pilots, the Passage to the Western Ocean, or soon determine that there is none."

Because goods taken across the Atlantic for the inland trade would be much heavier than the furs brought back, it was suggested that fir, larch,

and other timber be brought back from America as ballast. As the population of the region increased, great quantities of pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine would be produced so cheaply that Britain could undersell the Swedes and Danes, increase British shipping, and also use as ballast the valuable lead and copper that existed in the mines.

In time there would be other advantages not yet known. On, or near, the western coast above New Mexico they might find the rich civilized nations "of which there are authentick Accounts from *Spanish* Authors, above a Century and half ago, . . . who say, that they abound in Silver and Gold Mines, and in Turquoises, and live in large Cities and Towns; which is confirmed since by *French* accounts, by *Jeremie, Lahontan*; and strongly hinted at by *Charlevoix*, and also by Cox, who had good Information and authentick Journals of those Countries."

As the British would find it advantageous to use the Northwest Passage by sea, or the overland route from Churchill or Seal River, used by the natives, the writer proposed that Parliament look into the matter and consider the illegality of the Company's charter. The situation could be redressed by settling those countries and extending trade, etc., or by fixing a company by regulations to settle and trade, and determine the practicability of a passage; or the trade of Hudson Bay could be opened to all His Majesty's subjects for settlement at public expense or a small tax on trade.

This discussion was followed by the current British and French "Standard of Trade," with a beaver skin as the basis of exchange. You recall that the British did not permit the coin of the realm to be taken to America. In this listing, the British considered three martin skins worth one beaver, while the French rated one martin equalled one beaver. One British kettle, weight not given, equalled one and one-half beaver; the French calculated the kettles by weight, one pound equalling one and one-half beaver. It is interesting to note that in 1744 Arthur Dobbs included a trading list in his book on Hudson Bay, and listed three brass kettles as weighing one pound and worth one beaver; he also listed three martins equal to one beaver. In the book being considered, following the trade standards came the abstract of the weather records (pp. 29-44), which concluded the volume.

Although I considered three possible authors when examining this book, I was disappointed in not being able to identify the writer. Perhaps some record or letter will be found that can establish this fact. The well-known eighteenth-century Northwest Passage promoter, Arthur Dobbs, might

have written this. Although a student and writer on the subject, Dobbs had never been to the Arctic and had to depend upon others for his material. After influencing the passing of the Parliamentary Award of £20,000 for the discovery of the Northwest Passage in Hudson Bay, he sponsored another attempt: the 1746-1747 voyage referred to in this book. Dobbs could easily have used the weather records to advance his earlier efforts to break the Company's claims, continue the search for the passage between the Atlantic and Pacific, open up northern North America to trading, and extend the British Empire.

Henry Ellis was another possible author. Shortly before sailing time, in the spring of 1746, Ellis returned to England and, learning of the expedition, was anxious to accompany the explorers, although he had never been in Arctic waters. He purchased a share in the Northwest Company and sailed with the expedition. After their return, he, like Dobbs, had access to the journals and records in the hands of the Northwest Committee, and he advertised that he would publish the true account of the voyage, knowing that another member of the company was getting out an account in two volumes. Inaccuracies in the works of both Dobbs and Ellis were proven by Arctic navigators, although their books were very popular.

The third writer I considered was the explorer, Charles Swaine, clerk of the ship *California*, which accompanied the *Dobbs* galley in 1746. Swaine kept the ship's logs, and also personal journals, as he planned to publish an account of the expedition after his return. While I am still unable to ascertain anything about Swaine before he went on this voyage, I am inclined to believe that only experienced navigators were selected for this important attempt to discover the Northwest Passage, win the Parliamentary Award, and open British trade with Asia through the Arctic regions. In reading Swaine's account of the expedition, published anonymously, one sees that he was offended by Ellis's stating that he was publishing the true account, especially as during the expedition Ellis several times opposed following official instructions. The clerk of the *California* believed that Ellis hoped to make the discovery without Captain Smith and the men of the *California* and, if successful, return to England without them. Details of the 1747 explorations were in Swaine's second volume, published after Ellis's book had been acclaimed.

After detailed examination I found little to swing my decision one way, certainly nothing conclusive. The writer of *A Short State*, as already quoted, concluded that exploration would determine whether there was *or was not* a Northwest Passage. In reading the writings of Dobbs, Ellis, and

Swaine, I only recall Swaine's making such a comment at any time. In this book there is reference to the fur trade on the Labrador coast. Swaine attempted opening the Labrador fur trading in 1753 and surveyed the fishing grounds on a Northwest Passage expedition from Philadelphia, sponsored by Franklin and his Northwest Company. Part of the Labrador coast, Swaine noticed, was like that of Norway, indicating he had already been to the Norway coast. However, none of this is proof of authorship.

Swaine, however, did keep the logbook, from which the author published "An Abstract of the Weather Taken at *Montague-House*, near *York-Fort*, in *Hay's River* in *Hudson's Bay*, in Latitude 57° 20, and on Board the *California*. As taken from a *Log-book*, commencing August the 16th 1746; when they were at *Marble Island*, near the *Welcome*, and ending the 9th of September 1747, when they had got out of *Hudson's Streight*, upon their Return Home."

BERTHA SOLIS-COHEN

*Henry Lewis' "Das illustrierte Mississippithal":
A Contemporary Advertisement*

In 1854 the firm of Arnz and Company in Düsseldorf, Germany, began publication of a work that was destined to become one of the rarest, as well as most sought after, books of travel and description about mid-America. It was *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, by the American artist and panorama painter, Henry Lewis. The book was to appear in parts, and six were issued during 1854-1855. Shortly thereafter, Lewis' publishers failed. According to J. Christian Bay, who wrote the introduction for a facsimile reprint issued in Florence in 1923, the "remaining fascicles appeared in 1857 and were distributed by Elkan & Co." The Minnesota Historical Society's copy of the original edition, however, bears the date 1858 and the imprint of Arnz and Company.

How that firm intended to issue Lewis' handsome book is revealed in the following advertisement published in the *New York Daily Tribune* for May 17 and 18, 1854:

Splendidly Illustrated Volume of American Scenery. The Valley of the Mississippi, Illustrated by a series of EIGHTY VIEWS taken on the spot, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 2,300 miles. By H. Lewis, Landscape Painter, St. Louis, Mo.

The object of the present work is to give a condensed but complete history of the Valley of the Mississippi, its various towns and cities, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 2,300 miles; the variety of scenery and products which latitude and climate produce; habits and customs of the aboriginal tribes, who still, undisturbed, roam through the vast wilderness that skirts its upper waters. The sketches have been taken on the spot by Mr. Lewis, who has resided more than twenty years in the Far West, at St. Louis, Mo., and is in all respects a most competent person to describe and illustrate a region so long his home.

The illustrations of this work were executed at Dusseldorf in the finest style of tinted lithography having all the appearance of highly finished water-color drawings.

The work will be published in twenty monthly numbers, each number containing four illustrations and from sixteen to twenty-four pages of letterpress, forming when complete, a beautiful volume of eighty illustrations and 480 pages of reading matter.

Part I. Now READY, price 75 cents.

For sale and subscriptions received by JOHN WILEY, No. 167 Broadway.

Actually, the completed work contained 431 pages and 78 illustrations. It has been generally believed that Lewis sent only a few copies of his book to friends in America, that a few were sold in Germany, and that the bulk of the edition was stored in a warehouse and was eventually sold as waste paper. Lewis himself, however, in a letter written in 1902, reported that three hundred copies were published before the Arnz firm failed and that the books "were sent for sale to, I believe New York or Philadelphia." The *Tribune* advertisement might well indicate that what reached America was three hundred copies of Part I. Almost half a century later a single part and the entire work could easily have been confused in the mind of the aged artist.

What became of Wiley's stock remains a mystery. So far as the writer knows, copies of Part I are unknown today. And fewer than twenty copies of *Das illustrierte Mississippithal* in the complete original edition are said to exist in American libraries. The price quoted in the *Tribune* of seventy-five cents for each part, and thus of fifteen dollars for the complete work, is of more than ordinary interest, since in 1945 a copy from the Russian Imperial Library sold at auction for a thousand dollars.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

A Textual Note on John Dos Passos' "Journeys Between Wars"

Almost all of John Dos Passos' *Rosinante to the Road Again* (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1922) was incorporated in the later publication *Journeys Between Wars* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), especially in Section I and the first five sketches in Section IV. But Dos Passos had made many revisions of the original text without informing his readers. Four types of alterations can be found: 1. Shifts in the order of the chapters; 2. Combinations of chapters; 3. Emendations of the text; and 4. Deletions or omissions. The emendations are occasional and are apparently insignificant, involving no basic change in meaning or impression, although they do strengthen the expression. The omissions and deletions, however, are not all insignificant. For the most part, Dos Passos deletes those sections in *Rosinante* that contain an excessive amount of literary comment; and by so doing he attempts to make a text that will approximate the requirements of a travel book. He does not, on the other hand, generally omit those parts that contain social, political, and economic comment. Hence, with the exception of some apparently significant omissions, the text of the early Spanish tour in *Journeys Between Wars* seems to be a not unreliable guide to Dos Passos' thought and interests during the time of the first World War.

Upon close examination, however, some of the suppressions do not appear innocent. Perhaps the author can explain why pages 108-114 in *Rosinante* are omitted from the text of the *Journeys*. Certainly, the observations in these pages, the strictures on the Catholic Church and the feudal greed of the landowners, the not unfavorable discussion of the inspiring effect of the contemporary Russian Revolution on Spain's revolutionary agrarian socialists, have a place in the later travel collection. But in view of Dos Passos' hostility to the Soviet Union since 1936-1937 and his developing conservatism, these deliberate omissions by a disenchanted "radical" can be easily understood.

Dos Passos has also camouflaged, it may be deduced, his early romantic mysticism. The text of the *Journeys* (p. 267) omits one sentence from the original text in *Rosinante* (p. 173): "It was not the continuity of men's lives I felt, but their oneness." The sentence comes from a section in which Dos Passos tries to capture a mood produced by a reading of some Spanish verses and by observing the sea and sailboats at sunset. In the youthful Dos Passos such an "easy" mysticism can often be detected; but the excision disguises this romantic trait of the early Dos Passos. It will be recalled that

Dos Passos, throughout *Rosinante*, romantically attempted to capture the essence of Spain by feeling and intuition. This mystical and exquisite softness, this romantic excess, this sentimentalism—all are modulated and subdued, although not all omitted, by the hardened Dos Passos who revised the later text. All evidences of the influence of the young man's mother-censor are also removed, and so the older Dos Passos obscures the potent parental influence on his early life. This parental censor, which appears in Dos Passos' Harvard short story "The Shepherd"—an adolescent fictional complaint about "the overlordship of his parents"—peeps out with such frequency in *Rosinante to the Road Again* as to amount to an obsession.¹ Moreover, serious omissions from the third chapter, "The Baker of Almorox," also occur, lending support to the belief that Dos Passos has deleted all vague, mystical statements from the early book. For example, speculations on the strength and weakness of Spain, the individualism of the "changeless" Iberian mind and the life-is-a-dream mysticism in *Rosinante* (pp. 52-54) are cut from the text of the *Journeys* (IV: 251-259).

Then there is one change in the prose by which the Dos Passos of 1938 changes the impression of himself as a frustrated liberal in the early twenties. Dos Passos cuts from the *Rosinante* text the conventional pessimism that there is no solution for Spain's problems:

At the present day, when all is ripe for a new attempt to throw off the atrophy, a sort of despairing inaction causes the Spaniards to remain under a government of unbelievably corrupt and inefficient politicians. There seems no solution to the problem of a nation in which the centralized power and the separate communities work only to nullify each other.²

Certainly, a radical political theorist, ingenious or optimistic, would never be daunted by difficulties, never be at a loss for solutions to social or economic urgencies. In the *Journeys* (p. 255), however, the pessimism disappears entirely and the second sentence becomes a merely objective remark: "Everywhere the new life was caught and held back in a tangling net of traditions and encrusted interests."

Finally, there is one suggestive omission that may or may not be significant to a complete understanding of Dos Passos' anarchism. "What could I," writes Dos Passos in *Rosinante* (p. 173), "who had come out of ragged and barbarous outlands, tell of the art of living to a man who had taught me both system and revolt?" This omission from the text of *Journeys* (p.

¹ *Rosinante to the Road Again*, pp. 18, 102, 134, 137, 139, 230-231, 244-245.

² *Rosinante*, p. 62.

267) seems to suggest something of importance, perhaps the tremendous influence of anarcho-syndicalist thought upon the early Dos Passos.

Naturally, it is the privilege of the author to edit the text of his own publications. But such changes, made about twenty years after the original publication, should not obscure significant facts of personal history, psychological and social, and prevent, in this special instance, understanding of an intellectual position held in the years 1916-1920.

MARTIN KALLICH

*Additions to the Check-List of Young's "Night-Thoughts"
in America*

Five items deserve to be added to Henry Pettit's *A Check-List of Young's "Night-Thoughts" in America* (in *PAPERS*, XLII: 150-156. 1948). They will make his list more nearly complete; they will, furthermore, enforce the evidence that Young's poem was notably popular with Americans in the 1840's and 1850's, and in cities well separated.

I take the information for the first item from a copy of my own that has been in my family for four generations.

Night Thoughts | on | Life, Death | and | Immortality. | [Line] | By Edward Young, LL. D. | [Line] | Philadelphia: | Kay & Troutman, 183½ Market Street. | Pittsburgh:—C. H. Kay. | 1848. |

The reverse of the title-page reads: Printed by Smith & Peters, | Franklin Buildings, Sixth Street below Arch, Philadelphia. |

The pages are gilt-edged and measure 4⅞ by 3 inches.

For the second item the information comes from a copy in the Los Angeles Public Library.

The | Complaint and Consolation; | or | Night Thoughts | on | Life, Death, and Immortality. | To which is added, | The Force of Religion. | [Line] | By Edward Young, D. D. | [Line] | A New Edition. | Boston: | Phillips, Sampson, and Company | New York: James C. Derby. | 1856. |

The copy has been rebound. Its pages measure 6 by 3¾ inches.

The other three items were noted in The Huntington Library.

The | Complaint, | or | Night Thoughts. | By Edward Young, D. D. [*sic*] | [Line] | New-York: | Published by Leavitt & Allen, | 27 Dey Street. | 1853. |

Stamped into the cloth covers, both front and back, is "Leavitt's Cheap Edition." The pages measure $4\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Young's | Night Thoughts. | [Line] | With Life, Critical Dissertation, and
| Explanatory Notes, | by the | Rev. George Gilfillan. | [Line] | New York: |
D. Appleton & Co., Broadway. | Edinburgh: James Nichol. | M.DCCC.LIV. |

The pages measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Night Thoughts | on Life Death & Immortality | by Edward Young, L. L. D. |
[Engraving signed "*H. Anderson sc.*"] | *The melancholy ghosts of dead re-*
nown, | [Two lines of dots] | *All point to earth and hiss at human pride.* |
Night IX. | [Double line] | Philadelphia. |

A page preceding and facing the title-page has an engraving of a robed and standing person gazing at the stars; beneath appears: *An humble pure and heavenly minded heart | Is here inspir'd.* | *Night IX.* | *H. Anderson sculp.* |

No date, publisher, or printer is indicated. There are 254 numbered pages followed by two pages of index. The first five pages (A-5) give "Memoirs of Dr. Edward Young." The Huntington Library has conjectured "ca. 1800" as the publication date. The pages measure $5\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. I have compared this item with the Library of Congress card description of a book that I suppose is indicated by Pettit's Item 16; this item differs.

WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN

An Unrecorded Edition of Crabbe

In the Library of the University of Texas there is a small paper-covered volume containing some of the poems from the collection of George Crabbe's works which was published in the year 1807. Crabbe's bibliographers have overlooked this reprint—not surprisingly, since in the first place they were apparently not aiming at completeness, and in the second place, on account of the fragility of this pamphlet, probably most of the copies of it have been destroyed in the one hundred and eleven years since its publication.

Aside from the fact that it has not been previously listed in the bibliographies of Crabbe, this little book is interesting because, as we learn from the preface, it is a relic of the effort made during the eighteen-thirties by its publishers, William and Robert Chambers, to assist in disseminating

good literature among poor and humble people.¹ It is thus a small testimonial to the reputation of its author in the years following his death.

A description follows.

THE VILLAGE,| THE PARISH REGISTER,| AND| OTHER POEMS.|
BY| THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE, LL.B.| WITH A MEMOIR OF
THE AUTHOR.| (six lines of verse designated as "Translation from Lucan.")|
EDINBURGH:| PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAM-
BERS;| AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.| 1838.²

[A]-B⁸. [i-iii], iv, [5], 6-32 p. Double columns. 80 lines + signature line, 214 (222) x 128 mm.

[A]₁^a, title-page; [A]₁^b, printer's imprint, "Edinburgh: Printed by W. and R. Chambers, 19 Waterloo Place." [A]₂^a-[A]₂^b, preface (anonymous), dated Edinburgh, January 1838; [A]₃^a-[A]₄^b, text of "The Village"; [A]₅^a-B₄^b, text of "The Parish Register"; B₄^b-B₆^b, text of "The Library"; B₇^a-B₈^b, text of "Sir Eustace Grey"; B₈^b, text of "Woman!"; B₈^b, printer's imprint repeated.

243 x 157 mm. Perfect. Paper covers. "Crabbe's Poems" penciled on front. Former owner's name, William Cross, with the notation "No. 10" written in black ink on title-page. Now owned by the Library of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

FRANKLIN P. BATDORF

¹ William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers, with Autobiographic Reminiscences of William Chambers*, Chapter IX, Third Edition (New York, Scribner, Armstrong, 1872).

² The verses purporting to be translated from Lucan are a translation of lines 230-235 of a Latin poem of unknown authorship entitled *Laus Pisonis*, which is printed in the Loeb Classical Library volume of *Minor Latin Poets*, p. 312.

The preface states that the text of this edition is from that of 1809, perhaps the one listed by Huchon as the fourth but not dated by him.

Book Reviews

TRYON, WARREN S., and WILLIAM CHARVAT, eds. *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields and Their Predecessors 1832-1858*. New York, The Bibliographical Society of America, 1949. 1, 508 pp. 9½ x 6 inches. \$15.00.

The name of Ticknor and Fields, ancestors of the present firm of Houghton Mifflin Company, is so familiar to students of American literature and culture that one instinctively welcomes, while he vaguely senses the importance of, these Cost Books, now published for the first time. Yet without the interpretive and critical labors of two modern scholars, these records of a famous publishing firm could scarcely hope to arouse a vital response in the reader. Professor Tryon, who has in preparation a history of the firm of Ticknor and Fields, and Professor Charvat, who has likewise under way a work on the profession of authorship in America during the nineteenth century, have brought to the task of editing these Books a mature scholarship which is in evidence throughout the volume. First, the editors' Introduction is essential to any appreciation or understanding of the Cost Books. In addition to giving a sketch of the firm of Ticknor and Fields,¹ the Introduction describes fully the manuscripts of the Cost Books and the methods used in editing them. Of especial importance is the section of the Introduction which interprets the numerous phases of a complex and cryptic manuscript. When a work published by the firm is entered in the Books for the first time, the editors fully identify it by giving author, title, date, pagination, and often other information. The editors have also included for the more important books many pertinent facts relating to their publication. These have usually been drawn from the firm's Letter Books and other correspondence between author and publisher. Finally, several appendices discuss special bibliographical matters, such as the printers, stereotypers, and binders of the Ticknor books, as well as the illustrators and engravers.

The firm of Ticknor and Fields, by all odds the best-known publishing house in America during the 'fifties and 'sixties, had its beginning in the

¹ A number of articles by Tryon and Charvat mentioned in the footnotes of the Introduction admirably supplement this historical sketch of Ticknor and Fields.

establishment of Allen and Ticknor in 1832. Eleven years later James T. Fields became a junior partner. It was mainly the "financial sagacity" of William Ticknor, who was a cousin of George Ticknor, Harvard professor of modern languages, that made the firm a business success; it was the cultural attainments of Fields which were largely responsible for attracting so many famous names to its literary roster and for establishing a new phase in the relations between author and publisher. "It had been Fields' ambition," assert the editors, "not only to draw toward his house the great works of literature but to hold the loyalty of his writers in permanent bonds of affectionate attachment." Thus Fields was often addressed as "Dear Maecenas" and designated as the "American Moxon."

The Cost Books, so-called by the firm itself and fully transcribed by the editors with some necessary editorial changes, are essentially records of expenditures made by Ticknor and his partners in producing and publishing their books. As our editors so well emphasize, "This is the first time that such material for American publishing history has been made available." Even a cursory examination reveals the fact that this work, both in the entries of the company and annotations of the editors, becomes an inexhaustible mine of bibliographical information. Here the collector of first editions of New England authors and early American editions of English writers will quickly discover much of significance to his hobby. True, many works listed in the Cost Books would never elicit more than a passing glance from collector or bibliographer. But no one owning early editions of Longfellow's, Hawthorne's, or Whittier's works, with what our editors call "chocolate brown covers" (now turned a rusty brown), could possibly look through the pages of this book without something of a thrill. Here he will find for some favorite work the month and day of publication, not only of the first edition but of subsequent editions as well. The number of copies constituting each edition will likewise meet his eye. If he searches further, with the aid of the explanations provided by the editors in the Introduction, he will discover that the weight and size of the paper have usually been noted. And especially to the bibliographer is it important to observe that many of these items differ from edition to edition. Records of cancels and corrections have sometimes found their way into the pages of the Cost Books. And much information of a highly technical nature is presented relative to the printing of each edition. The editors have skillfully demonstrated how, from information given in each entry along with the accompanying collation of the book, facts of importance may be derived regarding the physical make-up of each volume.

It should be remembered that each of the separate items relating to the

production of a single work is accompanied by figures representing the cost to the publishers. Although for many volumes the Cost Books contain statements of the royalties (called "Copyright") paid to the author, no records are, of course, included of profits to the publisher. Yet from information given under each edition, it is sometimes possible to approximate the net income to the publishers from the sale of a single book. In many cases the "trade" and "retail" prices of the book are noted. Study of these data in conjunction with the number of copies constituting the edition, the record of royalties, and the total expenditure (provided all these items are included in the entry) should be of help to the person concerned with estimating the publishers' profits. Yet unknown factors might enter into such a computation that would often make the result far from absolute. It is true, for example, that a large part of an edition would probably be sold to the trade, but enough copies of famous books must have been retailed at the Old Corner Bookstore seriously to embarrass one desirous of arriving at accurate financial returns to the publishers. Fortunately from time to time the editors have found it possible to quote from the firm's Letter Books and other correspondence passages which indicate the relative success or failure of a book.

Longfellow's *Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique* (1833) was the first book by a member of the famous New England school to be published by the firm, then Allen and Ticknor. Longfellow expressed disappointment when the following year the publishers notified him that the book had not paid expenses. He was likewise disappointed with his dealings with John Owen, a Cambridge publisher. In 1846, however, Longfellow renewed his business connections with Ticknor, but now under circumstances wholly different from those under which most American authors of that day were publishing their works. As Professor Charvat has elsewhere demonstrated from a study of records in the Craigie House,² Longfellow himself ordered and owned thereafter the stereotype plates for all his works. Thus Longfellow received a royalty liberally augmented by the price which the publishers were obliged to pay him for the use of the plates! An entry in the Cost Books for the 1846 edition of *Outre-Mer* (600 copies) reads, "Copyrt. [royalties] & use of plates [\$] 100." Keen as Longfellow's business sense had grown, the poet met his match the following year in Ticknor. There was haggling on both sides over the publication of *Evangeline*, and it is difficult to say whether publisher or author was the winner. Yet Longfellow must surely have realized, as the years went on, the busi-

² Longfellow's *Income From His Writings, 1840-1852*, in: PAPERS OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, XXXVIII: 9-21 (First Quarter, 1944).

ness wisdom of Ticknor. Under John Owen, for example, *Hyperion* had languished. Published by Ticknor in 1847, the same novel flourished for the next twenty years. And Ticknor and Fields became Longfellow's permanent American publishers. Worthy of special study is the way in which Ticknor and Fields handled for the American trade certain special English editions of American writers. The American publishers, instead of bringing out for themselves illustrated editions of Longfellow's *Evangeline* and *Hyperion*, ordered from David Bogue in London sheets or bound copies of these books with the imprint of the American house.

Whittier's shortsightedness in his business dealings during the 'forties offers a strange contrast to Longfellow's astute handling of his publishers. Whittier first approached Fields in 1842 with a small volume of poetry which he desired published. The Quaker poet declared himself "wholly unacquainted with booksellers, having never published anything of any consequence," but wished his little book "printed in first rate style or not at all."³ The result was the publication the following year of *Lays of my Home, and Other Poems*. The Cost Books record for an edition of 1,000 copies a royalty of \$50. Unfortunately the Cost Books never mention the date of payment. In this case, however, we know from another source that Whittier remained unpaid as late as 1850 when he requested of Fields a check "for the balance due."⁴ Perhaps dissatisfied with his dealings with Ticknor and his partners, Whittier in 1845, 1846, and 1847 brought out volumes with the imprint of other publishers in Boston and New York. At the close of 1848 Benjamin B. Mussey of Boston issued an illustrated edition of Whittier's poems, postdated 1849. Mussey had offered Whittier, to his utter astonishment, \$500 for his copyrights.⁵ However, in 1849 Whittier returned to Ticknor and Fields, who published both *Leaves From Margaret Smith's Journal* and *Old Portraits and Modern Sketches* with a royalty of 5 and 7½%. From 1850 to 1856 Whittier received from Ticknor and Fields a royalty of 10% on four small books—approximately the same royalty that Holmes and Lowell were then receiving. But at the close of 1856 Whittier's business affairs with his publishers struck a serious snag. Ticknor and Fields now wished to issue a complete edition of his poetical works in two volumes with the blue-and-gold binding which was soon to become so famous. But Mussey in 1849 had acquired the copyright on Whittier's poetry published up to that time. In order to make the new

³ T. F. Currier, *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

collection complete, Ticknor and Fields were now obliged to purchase of Mussey's successors the rights to the poems contained in the 1849 illustrated edition. Fields wrote to Whittier:

We have arranged with Mussey's successors to bring out your poems complete in two little volumes uniform with Tennyson and Longfellow. The expense attending this arrangement, is, of necessity, a very large one, and it may be a very long time before we become wholly remunerated of the numerous difficulties which lay in the way of the business part of the matter.⁶

In consequence of this expensive deal, Ticknor could pay Whittier on the new two-volume collection that retailed for \$1.50 only five cents per copy. And this rate prevailed for a number of years on subsequent printings of the book. The moral derived from Whittier's early dealings with his publishers is all too plain. Instead of dallying with second-rate publishers in the 'forties—especially listening to the allurements of Mussey—Whittier should much earlier have allowed Ticknor to become his permanent publisher. Shopping of this sort seems in the end to have proved costly to Whittier.

As with Longfellow and Whittier, so with all the famous New England writers before the Civil War; the *Cost Books* reveal data which bibliographer and literary historian will repeatedly draw upon in their investigations, for the implications of the entries are manifold. All the cost records for the publication of three editions of *The Scarlet Letter*, bearing the date 1850, are presented in full. The complicated records involved in the initial publication of *The House of the Seven Gables* (there were three printings in two months) are here given for the first time. Along with the entry for the first edition of *The Blithedale Romance* our editors have included extracts from letters which relate to Fields's negotiations for the publication of the novel in England. To Hawthorne he wrote, "I met Chapman at dinner and poured into his ear [your] great merits." Two weeks later the deal was consummated. "Nine cheers! I have sold the Blithedale Romance for Two Hundred Pounds to Chapman & Hall." Two and a half years before, while writing *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne had been wondering how he would make both ends meet, and had accepted a sum of money tendered him by his friends! So are *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields* also rich in bibliographical data relating to Holmes and Lowell, as well as to countless other literary figures of America reaching back, by a fine gradation, into utter obscurity.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Yet the random notes here presented on American authors suggest but half the tale told in *The Cost Books*. In days when there was no international copyright, it was the regular practice of American publishers to bring out unauthorized editions of English authors. Occasionally publishers paid the English author a small gratuity for pirating his book, but such payment was as rare as it was small. In 1835 Ticknor sought to protect himself against the reprinting in America of Combe's *Constitution of Man* by issuing an edition of that work which included an additional chapter written by an American. But as time went on, especially after the introduction of James T. Fields into the firm, special arrangements were made with the English author for the publication of his works. In the 'fifties the company often printed editions of his books from advanced sheets, and sometimes paid the author, depending on his importance, at least some royalty. Such books often bore on the title page or its verso the words, "Author's Edition." Our editors have presented much matter drawn from the Letter Books and other correspondence throwing significant light on this phase of American publishing.

The first English book which Ticknor published by special arrangements with the author was Tennyson's *Poems*, brought out in two volumes in 1842. If, however, we are to credit a statement made by the firm in 1853 to a poet whose book had had but a scanty sale, ". . . Tennyson's *Poems* had during 15 years⁷ a sale [only] sufficient to pay the Publishers' bills." Yet for the 1842 *Poems* Tennyson was paid \$150, and we are informed by the editors that both Tennyson and Browning were sent sums of money not recorded in the Cost Books. In 1855 the publishers wrote to their London agent that in three months 4,000 copies of *Maud and Other Poems* had been sold, "although it has been severely criticised." Browning first appeared on the Ticknor and Fields list with the publication of *Men and Women* in 1856. Upon receipt of the volume, Browning pronounced it "capitally got up." That numerous English authors found increasing satisfaction in their dealings with Ticknor and Fields we have ample evidence. Regarding *Essays and Tales in Prose* (1853) Bryan W. Procter, better known as "Barry Cornwall," wrote to Fields in a letter not noted by our editors:

You Americans are a rapid race. When I thought you were in Scotland, lo, you had touched the soil of Boston; and when I thought you were unpacking my poor MS., tumbling it out of your great trunk, behold! it is arranged—it is

⁷ This period of time had apparently been extended for rhetorical effect although the truth of the entire statement is certainly open to question.

in the printer's hands—it is *printed*—published—it is—ah! would I could add, SOLD! That, after all, is the grand triumph in Boston as well as London.⁸

Three months later, when copies of the book had “duly arrived” in England, “Barry Cornwall” wrote with gratitude:

My wife is properly grateful for her copy, which, indeed, impresses both of us with respect for the American skill in binding. Neither too gay to be gaudy, nor too grave, so as to affect the theological, it hits that happy medium which agrees with the tastes of most people and disgusts none.⁹

We hope it was but an error of omission on the part of the clerk who kept the Cost Books that no mention is made of a royalty paid to Mr. Procter on this book.

An important episode in the history of Ticknor and Fields was their publication of the first collected edition of Thomas De Quincey. Professor Willard H. Bonner has published in his monograph, *De Quincey at Work*,¹⁰ the correspondence between De Quincey's daughters and Fields relative to this edition. De Quincey's fear of autograph hunters and his utter imbecility in all business matters made it impossible for Fields or any other publisher during the 'fifties to deal directly with the author. Yet, as Professor Bonner has pointed out, “Where English publishers gave De Quincey up, despairing of ever moving him to prepare a collected edition, James T. Fields persevered,” and finally obtained from him written authorization for the edition. I. R. Brussel in his *Anglo-American First Editions, 1826-1900. East to West*¹¹ describes bibliographically the volumes in this edition which have material appearing for the first time in book form. Now the Cost Books give us many interesting details pertaining to the publishing of these volumes, although unhappily few entries mention the payments made to De Quincey.

But if the firm found gratifying the response of certain English authors, it had serious difficulties in its dealings with others. Coventry Patmore “of the ‘British Museum’” (so designated in the Cost Books) was very indignant at the treatment he had received from Ticknor and Fields. Possibly because Patmore held what the firm regarded as a well-paying position at the Museum, they had failed to share with him the profits on his

⁸ James T. Fields, *Yesterdays With Authors* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886), p. 403.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹⁰ *University of Buffalo Studies*, April, 1936.

¹¹ London, Constable and Co. Ltd.; New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1935.

Angel in the House. The Betrothal (1856), despite the fact the book had gone into a second edition. This treatment was unjust, though apparently rare on the part of Ticknor and Fields, and the company did seek in part to make amends to Patmore by sending him a 10% royalty on the sale of his *Angel in the House. The Espousals*, published later in the same year. It was Charles Reade, however, who gave the partners most trouble. Continually finding fault with the way Ticknor and Fields were handling his books, Reade repeatedly condemned the firm for its poor business methods and found fault because his books failed to have as large a sale in America as they had in England. According to I. R. Brussel, three of Reade's volumes which Ticknor and Fields published in the 'fifties appeared for the first time as separate publications. These are *Clouds and Sunshine. And Art: a Dramatic Tale* (1855), *White Lies* (1857), and *Propria Quae Maribus—the Box-Tunnel* (1857). It was Reade himself who urged upon Ticknor and Fields the publication of *White Lies* in four parts, and only reluctantly did they accede to his request. Although the editors assert they "have seen no examples of the four separately published parts," illustrations of the first three parts in wrappers may be found in Brussel's bibliography.¹²

Along with the chocolate-colored cloth in which so many of the Ticknor and Fields books were bound in the 'fifties and 'sixties, the firm also developed the blue-and-gold binding used for books of pocket size. The first blue-and-gold edition was Tennyson's *Poetical Works* (1856). In succeeding years, Ticknor and Fields brought out blue-and-gold editions of many American and English authors, and the series attained an extraordinary popularity. Longfellow's royalties on 4,700 copies of his *Poems* (1856) amounted to \$822.50; on 3,000 copies of his *Prose Works* (1857), \$525. Holmes wrote some quaint verses to preface his own blue-and-gold *Poems* (1863):

Go, little book, whose pages hold
Those garnered years in loving trust;
How long before your blue and gold
Shall fade and whiten in the dust?¹³

This binding was soon imitated by publishers throughout America and re-

¹² Mr. Brussel asserts that he has examined two copies of the first three parts, but fails to note their location.

¹³ The blue-and-gold *Poems* of Bayard Taylor (1865) also contains a prefatory poem alluding, in the opening lines, to the binding.

mained in vogue for many years.¹⁴ Recently Norman H. Hall made a brief study¹⁵ of this popular series, listing not only the volumes done in blue and gold by Ticknor and Fields but the numerous imitations and adaptations made by other publishers. Both the editors of the Cost Books and Mr. Hall suggest that the origin of this style of binding was probably English.

In an intricate work of this description, editorial opinion would naturally differ as to the inclusion or exclusion of bibliographical details which distinguish the numerous printings or editions of a single book. Our editors have confined such detail almost entirely to changes in pagination. Textual alterations are seldom if ever recorded. In the main this practice would appear justifiable, since the editorial task of noting even important textual variations would become virtually insurmountable, and after the first two or three printings these variations would ordinarily prove of little value to bibliographer or literary historian. The reviewer, therefore, pardons the editors for their failure to note that in the 1854 edition of *The Golden Legend* Longfellow excised all references to Friar Cuthbert's mistress, although the necessary alterations in the stereotype plates must have involved the poet in considerable expense! More serious is the editors' neglect to observe that in the same edition the poet added copious notes amounting to some twenty-four new pages.¹⁶ It is fully agreed that in a book of this character condensation must be an essential principle of editorship. But this condensation, so the reviewer believes, has at times led to an occasional vagueness of statement, one example of which has already been pointed out. Finally, the editors might have been a bit more generous in mentioning bibliographical works which give information pertinent to the books published by Ticknor and Fields.

¹⁴ The reviewer finds the following assertion made by the editors vague and confusing (p. 363): "Arrangements were made with other publishers, notably Appleton, Francis, Miller, Putnam, and Little, Brown, to issue the works of the authors of the respective houses in 'blue and gold' formats which varied but slightly from those bearing the Ticknor and Fields imprint." Possibly the statement already quoted from one of Fields's letters regarding the publication of the blue-and-gold edition of Whittier's poems may throw some light on the preceding assertion, but the assertion still needs much clarification.

¹⁵ *Books in Blue and Gold: A Preliminary Survey*, in: *The Hall Mark*, September, 1948.

¹⁶ See *A Bibliography of the First Editions in Book Form of the Writings of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Compiled Largely From the Collection Formed by the Late Jacob Chester Chamberlain. With Assistance from His Notes and Memoranda by Luther S. Livingston* (New York, Privately Printed, 1908), p. 55. The Library of Congress has a copy of the 1854 edition of *The Golden Legend* with notes.

But enough of carping. Fault-finding is simply not in order in reviewing this work. Despite a few facts which a reader may here and there find lacking, *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields* stands a permanent work of reference, admirably edited and indispensable to collector, bibliographer, and literary worker.

NELSON F. ADKINS

WALTERS ART GALLERY. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance: an Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, January 27-March 13*. [1949] Baltimore, Published by the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1949. Frontispiece (colored), facsimiles. xii, 85 pp., LXXX (plates). 11 x 8½ inches. Paper, \$2.90; boards, \$3.95.

One of the best exhibitions in postwar America took place under the carefully measured title above. It was significant not only because of the importance and beauty of the manuscripts shown, but also because it was, actually, the *first comprehensive loan exhibition of manuscript illumination from American collections*. This noteworthy fact appears only on the second page of the foreword to the catalogue, and nowhere is mention made, for modesty's sake, of the remarkable coöperation between the Museum and the Walters Art Gallery in offering hospitality to the many visitors from out of town, for an installation and lighting which permitted the manuscripts to be seen at their best advantage, and for a catalogue which, as a reference work alone, is worth far more than the \$2.90 which was asked for it.

Particular credit, moreover, should go to Dorothy Miner, Librarian and Curator of Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery, who did all the scholarly research, wrote the catalogue, and secured the many loans. Indeed, one might say that this was her show, as it certainly was her catalogue. Therefore, if one could wish that the illustrations were better and perhaps more carefully chosen, one would have to remember her heavy task, everything to be done in a very few months, and the price of the catalogue which did not permit extravagant use of gold and color.

Collecting of illuminated manuscripts in America started late and proceeded haltingly. It was not really until the elder J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry Walters, and Henry E. Huntington started collecting just over fifty years ago that America began to have examples to compare with European collections. This catalogue shows far better than the *De Ricci-Wilson Census of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (1935-1940) what North America now possesses. But it also,

inevitably, shows the gaps: no Irish manuscripts, few Anglo-Saxon, and almost as few in the other important schools of the early period (eighth to twelfth centuries). There are other lacunae, but these are the most noticeable in relation to the greater European collections like those of the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vatican, and Laurentian Libraries, each one of which could alone show more.

While the Baltimore exhibition, therefore, should be a challenge to American collectors and institutions, realistically one must recognize that it is too late to mend this situation materially in the areas noted. The important manuscripts of these schools are already in public collections abroad, and only national catastrophes, if that, would ever make them available again.

Twenty-nine individuals and institutions were lenders to this first American effort—most from the Atlantic seaboard, few from the Middle or Far West. One may at least hope that this present heavy concentration can be alleviated so that more people may be able to familiarize themselves with one of the greatest and least known arts of the Middle Ages.

PHILIP HOFER

John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile: A Critical Text Edition. Compiled and Edited by Harris Francis Fletcher. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948. Volume III, [vi], 455 pp.; Volume IV, [vi], 316 pp. 11 x 8½ inches. Edition limited to 550 copies. \$20.00 per volume.

In reviewing the first two volumes (1943-1945) of Fletcher's *Milton* I noticed in detail such errors, inconsistencies, and omissions as I had been able to detect in the time at my disposal (PAPERS, First Quarter, 1947: 33-52). Other reviewers of these early volumes listed many other errors. But in his Appendix of additions and corrections to the first two volumes, printed at the end of Volume IV (1948), Fletcher paid scant attention to any of these painstaking efforts to be helpful, mentioning none of them and evidently using but a slight amount of the information available. This neglect seems to be a great pity in view of the extent to which students will undoubtedly use the "Illinois Edition" in years to come. However, it seems to me also a final example of a kind of willfulness which characterizes the edition as a whole. Generalizations are stated defiantly; the errors of others are flaunted; important editorial decisions (such as the choice of 1673

over 1645 as a basic text for collation) are made without defence; texts are excluded with insufficient explanation, and collations are given or not given for indiscernible reasons (the last example of this being Fletcher's collation of 1671 with 1680 despite the fact that no facsimile of 1680 is provided—the sole instance in the four volumes of denying the reader a ready means of checking the collation—and that the 1680 text “seems to contain few if any alterations . . . that originated with Milton”).

Since I have no wish to spend my own or my readers' time to no practical purpose, this review will not copy my first in fullness. It will suffice to describe the concluding volumes, to offer comments on the edition as a whole, to note one detail of special interest, and to congratulate a colleague upon completing one of the most monumental scholarly undertakings by a single individual in our time. These four volumes represent industry and perseverance of truly staggering proportions. I doubt that any other living Miltonist could have done the job so well. As I said two years ago, the scope is so magnificent, the gift to textual and bibliographical scholarship so generous, that one must use superlatives in expressing appreciation. This is far and away the greatest contribution yet made to our knowledge of the text of Milton's poetry.

But what deeply disturbs me about this, and will hereafter disturb me about any such heroic undertaking, is the haunting conviction that, with more assistance from experts, the results could have been so immeasurably better. Few of the numerous errors which reviewers have noted were beyond prevention. In a book which did not aim at being definitive on a grand scale their presence would have been less regrettable. Fletcher, “when no other durst, sole undertook” this stirring expedition through textual chaos, and while one admires the courage of the attempt, one must deplore the editorial pride which manifests itself in repeated comment on the difficulty of the task, in reproachful notes on the shortcomings of predecessors (the Columbia Milton being the chief target), and in much subjective prolixity (*e.g.*, an incredible paragraph at III: 50, on personal taste in typography). On the other hand, editorial humility was never carried to such lengths as still other statements reveal. Viewed as a whole, this triumph of objective scholarship is a conspicuously *personal* performance. The editor is omnivident. Although he declares that “the luxury of all speculation is denied the textual editor” (III: 51), his work is, fortunately, luxurious in speculation. But nothing need be taken on faith; the evidence is lavishly provided; extraordinary attention is everywhere given to

minutest details. Fletcher's *Milton* is strong with the dedicated skills of its maker; its weakness inheres in the same single-mindedness.

The personal flavor of the edition is most obtrusive in the writing, which is too often repetitious and involved. Fletcher seems to have an aversion to many current conventions of punctuation. His summaries are sometimes confusing echoes of near-by sentences rather than clear, concise analyses or statements of main conclusions. Simple facts are lengthily presented, and then restated, and then summarized and restated again, leaving one expecting each time that something new is about to be said. The uncertain use of technical bibliographical terms, which I noticed in my first review, continues in the final volumes. For example, he speaks of "the third issue" of *Eikonoklastes* in 1650 (IV: 12); he says that the verso of the title-page of *Samson Agonistes* "is blank but is counted in the 1671 foliation" (IV: 178); and he continues, despite his own definitions, to misuse the word "state" (e.g., IV: 198-199).

Since in his last volume he expresses the hope "that if examination of other 1671 copies than those used herein yield other changes, these can be brought together at some future time" (perhaps as he has already noticed, in these PAPERS for the Second Quarter of 1949, a title-page of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* dated 1675), I venture to mention the fact that at least two copies of 1671—the Grenville copy in the British Museum and a copy which was in private hands when I inspected it in 1933—have a cancel at N3, with page 70 misprinted 79. In one case the cancelling leaf was attached to the stub by its outer edge (thus reversing the pagination), and, as I recall, the same thing had once happened to the Grenville copy but had been corrected. (The cancel, incidentally, is not present in the other two B.M. copies, only one of which Fletcher examined, in photo-stat.) He reported "no cancels in any of the copies examined" (IV: 20).

Fletcher's Volume III is devoted solely to the second edition (1674) of *Paradise Lost*. It contains the text in photographic facsimile, full textual notes (including collation of 1674, 1667, and the MS of Book I), and a full introduction. Fifty-one copies were examined (only about a third as many as were located of 1667), and fourteen intra-variants or instances of resetting of type were observed in Milton's text—far fewer than were observed in the first edition. Volume IV is devoted to the 1671 edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, again with full apparatus; in the final pages are an Appendix of additions and corrections and also a general index. Sixty copies of *Paradise Regained* and forty-six of *Samson Agonistes*

were used for collation, and twenty-one intra-variants were observed in the 1671 text. This is the first facsimile edition of 1671, "the textually least known of all Milton's poems."

All serious students of Milton's text must use these four volumes of the "Illinois Edition" with a profound sense of obligation to both editor and publisher.

WILLIAM R. PARKER